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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

MAXIMIZING RESPONSE TO CHANGE THROUGH STRATEGIC COMMUNITY GROUPS AT THE WARD LEVEL: THE TANZANIAN RURAL CONTEXT

by

© OBEDI K.M. SANGA

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF MASTER OF ARTS IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled ...Maximizing Response to Change Through Strategic Community Groups at the Ward Level: The Tanzanian Rural Context....... submitted by .Obedi K.M. Sanga.... in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of ...Arts in Community Development.........................

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Supervisor

George Kupfer

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Date ..28 April, ...1975...

ABSTRACT

Attempting to involve the rural people in their own social and economic development is a major preoccupation of present-day Tanzanian national leadership. The aim of this thesis is to examine ways of increasing this participation at the ward level--the lowest administrative unit--where the majority of Tanzanian peasants live.

The colonial administration is briefly examined, in order to set the scene for post-independence developments. The survey shows that colonialism was incapable of introducing significant change among the indigenous people because of the negative attitude of colonialists towards the colonized, lack of comprehensive planning, especially for the rural areas, preoccupation with meeting metropolitan needs, racial discrimination, use of coercive pressures, and the distortion of indigenous institutions.

The examination of post-independence development efforts is intended to reveal the nature of Tanzanian's development policies which were aimed at overcoming the weaknesses of the colonialist approach. On the whole the study indicates that the national leadership is genuinely committed to securing people's participation. The thesis describes the process of Rural Development before and after the introduction of the major step of Decentralization in 1972. The establishment of Ward Development Committees to voice people's needs and problems is described as a significant step towards achieving local involvement. But it is concluded that these committees are not by themselves sufficient for coping with all the external and internal demands for change in the rural areas. The thesis argues the case for going further than this and increasing informed participation below the ward level if the people are to respond more rapidly to desired changes. This is seen as consisting of creating or strengthening strategic ward groups based on a common interest. Three groups based on women, youths and literacy classes are discussed at length, in order to illustrate how this process of local involvement could be implemented.

Some final comments are made with regard to the implications of these proposals, in terms of organization and training, and with regard to some of the forces which affect their implementation

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Thesis Problem

The general problem to which this study addresses itself is the reconciliation of the national development policy of Tanzania with one of the central concepts of Community Development, that is, the participation of people at the local level in the planning and executing of such policies. The study sets out to show how, in the historical context of the country's achieving nationhood, a centralized, and macro system of planning came into being. It then examines the existing procedures and institutions involved in the translation of such planning into action at the local level, that is, the micro system.

The more specific problem to which the thesis addresses itself relates to whether the Ward Development Committee (Tanzania's organization for rural involvement at the community level) is an adequate means of incorporating the rural people's participation in the economic and social life of the country. The potential inputs or demands requiring the attention of the Ward Development Committee appear to be many and diverse. They originate from government and TANU (Tanzania's only ruling political party) officials. They also emanate from such national organizations as the Umoja wa Wanawake wa Tanzania (or United) Women of Tanzania), TANU Youth League (TANU's youth wing) and the

Cooperative Union of Tanzania. External pressures further come from the nationally controlled mass media--newspapers and Radio Tanzania; from the decisions of Regional and District Development Committees which are the counterparts of the Ward Development Committee at the regional and district levels; and from field workers (the various rural level workers such as Community Development Assistants, Field Assistants (Agriculture and Veterinary) and TANU rural organizers.

Tanzania expects the rural people to respond to these demands through the Ward Development Committee, and one problem is that the WDCs are not in fact able to do this. This study suggests ways by which this deficiency can be overcome. In addition, the WDCs are expected to improve communication and education at the grass roots level and a further problem is that they are not in fact meeting this expectation.

It is argued in this thesis that developing other strategic community groups, such as women, youths and literacy classes, in addition to the Ward Development Committee (WDC) will, inter alia, broaden the community's exposure to external inputs, as well as enable it to be effective in dealing with these inputs. These groups have to be strategic in the sense that they occupy a crucial place in the enhancement of desirable change.

To put the matter differently, this study makes the following arguments:

(a) Rural Communities are not the homogeneous organizations some people assume;

(b) The WDC can deal with some problems better than others. These other problems could be the responsibility of interested strategic groups constituting the community;

(c) Some problems which the WDC now deals with do not need its exhaustive attention. For these problems strategic community groups would be adequate;

(d) Demands for change that need the attention of communities are many and diverse. Employing strategic community groups ensures that a wide range of these demands are taken into account;

(e) The WDC is expected to diagnose community problems and prescribe solutions. The use of strategic groups helps the WDC to do this work better because strategic groups will do much of the diagnosis.

It is further advanced in this thesis that the existence of enlightened strategic community groups not only eases the work of the WDC, but also benefits the community. That is to say that the problems which individual groups identify and the knowledge and skills they learn, will in many ways benefit the community as a whole. This is so partly because, according to the studies of social groups, groups always have influence not only on their own members but also on non-members, and partly because the field workers, notably the Community Development (CD) worker, encourage the different groups to relate to one another and to the larger community. Adoption by the WDC of group plans or suggestions for incorporation in the ward plan is, by itself, a way of diffusing group innovations to the rest of the community.

Thesis Outline

This thesis suggests that the ability to formulate a practical model of participation (which this thesis does in Chapter IV) depends, among other things, on possessing an adequate knowledge of the national pattern of which rural communities form a part. A necessary component of this knowledge of the national context is its recent history. This is necessary if one is to comprehend the origin of some of the prevailing state of things. For example, the difference between the levels of development of the nomadic cattle-rearing Masai and the coffee growers of Kilimanjaro, the Chagga, can be explained partly in terms of colonial neglect of the Masai. Pursuing this systematic approach, therefore, the following sequence is adopted:

Chapter II examines the colonial mode of development in Tanzania (previously Tanganyika). The exercise is relevant for the following reasons:

(a) The rise of nationalism in Tanzania emanated from certain dissatisfactions with colonial rule. The understanding of these dissatisfactions helps illuminate some of the roots of the needs and problems of present day Tanzania, and subsequent development policies.

(b) Assumptions underlying colonial development help us to understand why its development was slow and minimal.

The theme of this chapter, then, is to attempt a brief evaluation of the colonial approach to development in order to determine whether it was a strategy capable of or oriented to inducing genuine change among the indigenous people. By genuine change is meant change which is significant rather than superficial, which is reasonably rapid, involves local people, has the attainment of autonomy (self-determination) by the indigenous people as its utlimate aim, and which is self-sustaining.

Chapter III describes post-independence development policies and an assessment is made of the inadequacies inherent in the implementation strategy, thus making it possible to propose a preventive measure in Chapter IV, which is to augment the number of community groups to enable the community to deal with a multiplicity of demands for change more adequately.

This chapter has three parts:

The Establishment of Ground Work for Development

This includes:

(a) Modification of the colonial administrative structure;
(b) Adoption of one-party 'democracy';
(c) Popular participation and the evolution of development committees;
(d) Swahili language.

Policies for Development

Three policies are surveyed here and their implementation evaluated for some of them:

(a) The policy of Ujamaa (Socialism);

(b) The policy of Self-Reliance;

(c) The policy of Rural Development.

Decentralization

This section describes recent changes at the regional, district and ward levels introduced in 1972 in order to make planning and the execution of plans more relevant to local needs.

In Chapter IV the following tasks are tackled:

(a) The concepts of 'group' and 'community' are defined;

(b) The rationale for involving people (or opting for their participation as opposed to employing force or coercion) is discussed. It is advanced, among other things, that securing people's participation is an important principle or philosophy of Community Development. In addition, it is reiterated that Tanzania itself advocates the importance of developing man in addition to providing material things;

(c) The inadequacies of the WDC as the sole means of influencing change in the rural areas are discussed under the following subheadings:

    (i) WDCs and the Handling of External Inputs to Other Community Members;

    (ii) WDCs and the Articulation of National Goals;

    (iii) WDCs and Interest Arousal;

(iv) WDCs and their Capacity to Train Members of the Community;

(v) WDCs and Planning;

(vi) WDCs and Community Needs, Problems and Demands;

(vii) WDCs and their Capacity to Coordinate Community Activities.

(d) Which Groups Should be Selected for Improvement?

Under this heading are discussed the criteria for selecting strategic community groups. After resolving this issue three illustrative community groups (Women, Youths and Literacy Classes) are analyzed in terms of:

(i) Their potentiality for enhancing rural development;

(ii) Their current needs and problems;

(iii) Programmes for their improvement.

This chapter ends with a suggested list of possible additional groups which can be selected for improvement. Discussion in this chapter is illustrated by figures which portray certain interactions and relationships which obtain between the ward setting and the external setting, between WDCs and community groups and the interactions and relationships existing among the community groups themselves and between the local level workers and the community system. It is the local level worker, such as the CD official, who interacts with the community components most often.

Chapter V covers conclusions, implications and suggestions for further research.

Definition of Some of the Terms Used

Development: Development is one of those concepts which pose definitional problems in social science.[1] Traditionally, 'development' has been equated with 'economic growth' measured by such indicators as the gross national product (or GNP).[2] Nowadays, however, as Baster notes, development is seen as a multi-dimensional phenomenon ". . . involving changes in structure and capacity as well as output . . .(that is) development has political, social and economic dimensions."[3]

One aspect of structural change which Baster mentions is particularly relevant to this study: "Structural changes can also refer to organizational changes which affect efficiency and responsiveness to new demands."[4] As already noted, this thesis is concerned with reorganizing Tanzania's rural wards in order to make responses to external and internal demands more effective. The demands for change may be social, economic, political or educational.

Nation-Building: Closely related to the concept of development is the notion of 'nation-building'. Mazrui makes the following statement in this respect:

> The rhetoric of East African development abounds with notions of reconstruction and nation-building. Indeed the latter term is probably the most central one in the whole vocabulary of post-independence politics in East Africa. The advantage of the metaphor of nation-building is derived from the simple fact that so much of the work of turning newly invented, fragile states into more secure, integrated nations is analogous to construction.[5]

Thus, the creation of Ward Development Committees can be viewed in the same light (that is, as a form of nation-building) insofar as it enables communication between the centre and the periphery or between change agents and the masses.

Importance of the Study

This study, has practical importance for local-level workers, particularly CD workers, as well as for government and TANU bureaucrats at the regional and district levels. It is the latter who support local development programmes materially, financially, and psychologically. Specifically, it can be assumed that the regional and district officials who appear to pay little attention to rural involvement may be doing so out of ignorance about the potentiality of action groups in initiating and spreading desirable changes. This thesis may be useful in enabling them to recognize this. Similarly, the various rural level workers will not only appreciate the importance of the presence of active ward groups but they may also engage in their active formation or strengthening.

Footnotes

1. See Weinstraub, Dov; 'Developmental Change--Towards a Generalized Conceptualization of its Basic Dimensions and of the Relations Among Them' in Development and Change, Vol. III No. 1, 1972 (pp. 1-24).

2. See, for example, Apthorpe, R., 'The New Generalism: Four Development Studies in the First United Nations Development Decade' in Development and Change, op. cit. (pp. 72-73).

3. Baster, N., Measuring Development, London, Frank and Class, 1972 (pp. 1-18).

4. Ibid.

5. Mazrui, A.A., Cultural Engineering and Nation-Building in East Africa, Illinois, Northwestern University Press, 1972 (p. xiii).

CHAPTER II

THE COLONIAL DEVELOPMENT APPROACH

THE RELEVANCE OF TANZANIA'S COLONIAL PAST

There are many ways of evaluating the colonial style of development, depending on the orientation of the writer. In this thesis the evaluation is made from the point of view of Community Development. This means that what is being looked for particularly are things like the attitudes of the colonialists, as agents of change, toward their clients, the indigenous people; the mode of participation encouraged by colonialists; sensitivity to the needs of the majority; encouragement of local autonomy, and the like.

These points and others come out as the dissatisfactions of the indigenous people with colonial administration are examined, as the mechanisms that led to the slowness and the lack of resultant change are surveyed, and as the assumptions under which the colonial administration operated are established.

Colonial literature is widely scattered and does not necessarily occur in the manner as it has been systematized here. It was necessary to survey a wide range of literary materials, and sometimes what happened in Tanzania could only be implied from what took place elsewhere in the colonial empire.

Lest it is inferred that this chapter underrates the role of colonialism in spreading change, the point is made at the outset that it has not been the aim of this chapter to question whether or not colonialism initiated any kind of change. This it did. Moreover, the mere presence of colonial administrators, settlers, traders and missionaries was bound to induce changes of one kind or another. The purpose, however, is to examine whether the colonial model of development was capable of achieving genuine change for the Tanzanian masses as defined in the introduction of this thesis (see page 5).

Dissatisfaction with Colonial Administration as a Reflection of the Underlying Needs and Problems of the Masses

It is only twelve years since Tanzania obtained its independence from Great Britain. The colonial past is an important landmark for Tanzania. One of the reasons why nationalist movements in Tanzania, especially the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), sought independence was to make it possible for economic and social development to take place much faster than it was doing under colonial Britain. Many Tanzanians, especially the educated, felt that the colonial power--Great Britain and its agents in Tanganyika were deliberately moving very slowly in bringing in desirable change. Thus Nyerere complained at a UN session in 1956:

> Now it is true, madam, that the output from the secondary schools has been increasing and will continue to increase. When I sat for the Makerere College entrance examination some fourteen years ago there were only three schools in the

> country which could send students to that college for higher education. That number remains the same today with the addition of one school for the girls.[1]

And the Daily News adds:

> Besides, it was made clear that no colonial government could achieve for the people what the people could achieve for themselves. Thus at independence, the party promised to achieve more in a decade than what the colonists achieved in 40 years.[2]

The dissatisfaction with colonial rule reflects a great deal regarding the perceived needs and problems of the governed. And the revelation of these needs and problems adds to our understanding of the local context, for which the writer intends to propose a corrective approach in Chapter IV. It is also important to note that some of these dissatisfactions had been lying pent up for a long time. The expression of these dissatisfactions had to await the arrival of educated and politically activated Tanzanians, like Julius K. Nyerere, the current President of Tanzania and the man who led the country to independence. For instance, Nyerere spoke thus to the United Nations' Committee in 1956:

> In 1905 in the famous Maji Maji rebellion, they tried again to drive the Germans out. Once again the odds were against them. The Germans with characteristic ruthlessness crushed the rebellion, slaughtering an estimated number of 120,000 people . . . The struggle against the Germans proved to our people the futility of trying to drive out their masters by force. They were left without hope.[3]

Brett, expresses the same view when he notes:

> The relationship between colonial and independent structures were characterized by great inequality, however cordial the day to day interactions of the parties concerned . . . . the indigenous populations were in no position to challenge this situation short of suicidal wars or rebellions like that forced upon the Zulu in Natal at the end of the nineteenth

> century. But the new situation was a dynamic one; the interaction between colonial and dependent structures gave rise to new structures and new forces in the colonized society which were bound to ultimately challenge the dominant order.[4]

Next some of the specific needs and problems which are relevant to the subject of development and that were reflected by the masses' dissatisfaction with the colonial rule will be surveyed.

A Conspicuously Slow Rate of Progress

It is true that before the white man colonized Tanzania and many other African countries, very few modern outcomes of change, such as formal schools, railways, the cash economy and modern medicine, were in existence. The colonialists were forced to introduce a few changes because without them certain things could not be done. For example, they needed some low-level civil servants to support colonial administrators. They also wanted the local economy to be somewhat self-supporting and to produce some extra crops for export to the colonial power. Some changes, perhaps most of them, came as unanticipated consequences, a product of the new interaction between the colonialists, colonial traders, settlers and missionaries on the one hand and the colonized people on the other. However, as time went on, the colonized people came to believe that the colonial administration was not interested in far-reaching changes beyond the minimum thought necessary. This belief was bound to create frustration and anxiety, and resulted in a demand for complete independence which, it was hoped, would allow the masses to progress faster and to introduce the sort of innovations they thought most important or urgent. Gross notes the 'strange' compound of colonial penetration and civilization as follows:

> Over the course of the centuries 'civilization' was brought to black Africa by the Spanish, Dutch, Belgian, French, Italian, German and British Colonialists. 'Civilization' was a strange compound of a little modern medicine, education, public works, consumer goods, missionaries and christianity on somewhat a larger scale; still larger scale of plundering African resources; (and) recurring bloodshed . . . .[5]

Later, in this chapter, an attempt will be made to explain why this change was slow. Meanwhile it is necessary to cite more examples that support the view that the colonial mode of development was phenomenally slow and superficial.

Albert Meister[6] notes that African underdevelopment during colonial days was due, inter alia, to racial barriers, which, he comments, transform a class into a sort of caste. He notes that W.A.S.P. (White Anglo-Saxon Protestant) is a racial concept affecting a number of individual rights and obligations and that in East Africa these rights and obligations were intended to safeguard white supremacy and they were backed up by law. Racial barriers affected Africans in many ways, albeit sometimes subtle ones. For example, under the guise of protecting Africans from ruthless businessmen the law made it impossible for Africans to obtain modern credit. Contracts between Africans and non-Africans or commercial institutions had to be authorized in writing by District Commissioners. In actual fact, the aim was to avoid economic competition from Africans. Meister notes that the colonial philosophy meant introducing as few innovations as possible in the traditional structures and then only where it was necessary to European implantation. The conspicuously slow rate of colonial development can be illustrated, among other things, by the fact that in Tanzania in 1959, after forty years of British rule, there were only 245 Africans with secondary school certificates. This means that there was only one secondary school graduate for about 12,000 inhabitants. Furthermore, the government was spending £25 for every African and Asian child in school while it at the same time spent £250 per European child. In 1951, there was only one African top-level civil servant; of the 4000 middle level jobs only five were held by Africans in 1948; there were only 13 African doctors in 1961; and out of 685 secondary school teachers only 17 were Africans. In the East African Common Services Organization (formerly East African High Commission and now East African Community) the situation was even worse. There was only one African and Asian out of a total of 80 officers of the scientific and research team. In this organization 97% of the top positions were occupied by foreigners at the beginning of 1963.

Meister notes, also, that although advance in primary schooling is impressive, it is a very recent phenomenon. For example, only 24.1% of the school-age population were attending school in Tanzania and only 2.1% were attending secondary school in 1959.

It is interesting to note that much of what was done by colonial administrators from the late fifties was mainly a result of pressure, primarily political, emanating from the dissatisfied indigenous people. Meister notes:

> Staring in the 1950's British authorities tried to create on the one hand a rural middle class to check social agitation and on the other hand an educated elite . . . as a substitute

> for the policy of assimilation. The policy, however, was only beginning at the time of independence . . . .[7] (underlining added)

It therefore seems clear that colonial development was slow and minimal. But how was this slow rate of change achieved?

Mechanisms for limiting change

Brett[8] notes that the slow rate of development was a function of a number of colonial dynamics. In agriculture, the existence of plantation farming, which was totally in the hands of European settlers, grew at the expense of indigenous agriculture. This was so because if a significant growth of cash crops had been encouraged among the local population, it would have endangered plantation or European farming by cutting off the supply of African labour. It would also have increased the cost of plantation or settler production:

> . . . the existence of an indigenous subsistence sector seems to have worked, at least in the transitional stage, for the lowering of the wage in mines and plantations; . . . that the colonial powers have been able to maintain low wages in the mines and plantations by neglecting and impoverishing the subsistence agricultural sector.[9]

The neglect of indigenous agriculture must have been very serious because in colonial days the African population was even more rural than it is now--over 95% (see table).

African problems vis-a-vis the whites were not confined to agriculture. Trade and processing were another problem area. The produce was in the main sold through cooperatives dominated by Europeans or private firms dominated by Asians or other foreign-based entrepreneurs. The effect of this system was to rule out the emergence of an autonomous middleman sector and substituted agents for local middlemen as intermediaries between the grower and the processor. The agents were mainly Asians and were dependent directly on the processor who was white.

With this type of attitude to African business endeavours, only very naive people would have remained forever satisfied with colonial rule.

The dictates of the colonial power also did much to slow African progress. This is because what was done in the colony in the name of development did not emanate from the needs of that colony but from the needs of Great Britain. This was so even where Great Britain spent millions of pounds in the colony, for example, to develop important infrastructures as Brett again comments:

> The needs of British manufacturing industry created the dynamic which determined the speed and structure of colonial development by establishing a market for new materials and supplies of manufactured goods . . . . The crisis of unemployment in the 1920's produced the aid programme which culminated in the 1929 Colonial Development Act . . . . The major impact of this was felt in colonial railway building with many hundreds of miles completed in East Africa between 1921 and 1931.[10]

The importance of this infrastructure creation to East Africa cannot be denied. But stemming from British needs rather than local needs, it gave rise to some problems for East Africa. For example, the Kenya-Uganda Railway spent £16.5 million and had to make repayments amounting to over £800,000 per annum. Tanganyika spent £8.9 million and had to repay £310,000 per annum. At the same time Kenya, for

Table 1

Population of the Principal Towns of Tanganyika for Selected Years (in '000)

	1948		1957	
Town	African	Non-African	African	Non-African
Dar es Salaam	50.8	18.5	93.4	35.3
Tanga	16.7	5.6	28.0	10.1
Tabora	10.8	2.0	12.0	3.4
Mwanza	8.9	2.4	15.2	4.6
Dodoma	7.5	1.9	10.3	3.0
Morogoro	7.3	0.9	12.4	2.1
Lindi	7.4	1.2	8.3	1.9
Ujiji	--	--	11.7	0.3
Moshi	5.5	2.5	9.4	4.3
Mtwara	--	--	9.6	0.8
Arusha	2.9	2.4	5.2	4.9
TOTAL	117.9	34.7	215.5	70.6
% of population living in towns	1.6	53.0	2.5	58.0

Note the small percentage of urbanized Africans and the small urbanization proportion to total population. Yet colonial development was concentrated in towns.

Source: Stephens H.W., The Political Transformation of Tanganyika: 1920-67, New York, Frederick A. Praeger, Publishers, 1968.

example, spent only £170,000 on education, £125,000 on agriculture and £198,000 on medical services. The corresponding figures for Tanganyika were only £81,000 on education, £105,000 on agriculture and veterinary services, and £194,000 for medical services. Furthermore:

> . . . the commitment to capital-intensive technology implied by the choice of railways rather than roads (Kenya spent only £60,000 and £80,000 per annum on these throughout the thirties) meant that development had to be concentrated into a limited number of regions.[11]

As a consequence, those areas around the railways, serving mostly white settlers, could be intensively developed whereas those not served by the railways (areas in which the majority of Africans lived) had to be neglected. In the language of Brett, they were 'starved of resources because of the drain imposed by the capital-intensive sector'.

The demands of the colonial power were not the only factors adversely affecting development of the colonial territory. Another very important factor was the local administration of the colonial territory. The actions of the local administration had strong racial overtones. Brett's observation is illuminating in this connection:

> Its influence which must not be underestimated for this reason, was . . . confined to the choice between alternative strategies for capitalist development, which it could exercise by providing one group of entrepreneurs with opportunities to operate as against another--settlers rather than peasants, processors rather than middlemen, importers rather than domestic producers and so on.[12]

This practice greatly enhanced African dissatisfaction with colonial rule. The situation was further worsened by the fact that colonial administration had ample chances of employment in the non-agricultural sector. Brett notes also that colonial administration seems to have acted within an unresolved contradiction, because the requirements of the cash economy demanded the inclusion of Africans--drawing them 'out of their old routines and systems of social organization--yet on the other hand the only way of keeping them under control was to retain their 'traditional habits of dependence'. Change agents including community development personnel must take this warning--frustration among the masses may result not only from too much change but also from lack of it. In East Africa, it appears that the masses wanted at least to alter some of their traditional ways in order to attain some degree of change and close the gap between them and the Europeans and Asians, but the actions of colonial administrators effectively checked this by maintaining traditional ways. This was particularly true in Tanzania where the doctrine of Indirect Rule was, at least theoretically, cherished; theoretically because the system of Indirect Rule was not in fact fully achieved. It was merely distorted. This point will be developed later in this chapter (see Section 9).

(b) Discrimination and Racial Policies

Another major source of dissatisfaction with colonial rule was discrimination and the racial policies it maintained. The important thing for us to note here is that genuine development of a people was to be rendered difficult while racial policies existed in a colony. In other words, you cannot effectively act as an agent of change, let alone as a community development agent, while you regard your community residents as inferior to you. This attitude is tantamount to implying that they are less human. In the case of Tanzania, indeed in the whole of African colonies, racial practices were exercised very explicitly. Underlying all rural practices was the whites' conception of Africans as inherently inferior human beings. Brett again brings this point out quite clearly:

> His other world which he came out to direct and control, consisted of peoples which, if they were not actually considered inferior, were necessarily to be considered immature and therefore perhaps to be studied and understood in the manner of the sympathetic anthropologist (and many British district officials made capable amateurs in this field), but not to be treated as equals and allowed decisive say in determining the long term say of their country.[13]

Given this picture of indigenous people it is small wonder that the mode of colonial development effected as little change as possible among the dominant culture.

Prior to the emergence of a viable political opposition African reaction to economic inequality based on discrimination was organized through cooperative movements. This is an interesting example of how dissatisfaction and blocked opportunity sometimes leads to creative change. Cooperative societies are now an important wing of the political life of Tanzania and some of its early cooperative organizers are now holding top positions in Tanzania.

The situations in which Africans were discriminated against are phenomenally large and varied; Albert Meister notes:

> . . . In general contacts between the two races were prescribed to the absolute minimum compatible with the jobs to be done, and very strict division of labour was maintained around the distinction between manual tasks, the lot of Africans, and the intellectual tasks, suitable only for whites.[14]

Such a degree of social and economic discrimination was intolerably himiliating and could not fail to produce African opposition.

It therefore seems unlikely that practices and attitudes presented in this section were really capable of securing African acceptance of the colonialists as genuine agents of change for the African's benefit.

(c) Lack of Concern for Overall Development

Apart from the reasons noted above regarding minimal and slow rate of change, another source of dissatisfaction with colonization was its tendency to effect even that minimal change on a very inequitable manner. There was inequality not only between the whites and Asians on the one hand and Africans on the other, but also among the different African ethnic groups and among regions or districts. Inequitable development existed even within a single ethnic group. In other words, colonialism was also characterized by lack of commitment to overall development of the colony under their control.

Some reasons for selective development as opposed to total development appear from what has been said in the foregoing paragraphs. Another fundamental reason for the lack of commitment to total development was due to the fact that colonial administration, except during its last days in East Africa, did not have an overall programme for developing the colonies. During this period colonial administrators were simply left to act according to the dictates of the practical situations or individual wisdom. This lack of overriding policy of development, the failure to take into account all the sections of the country, resulted in concentrating development in only a few areas.

The production and consumption needs of the colonial power for primary crops did much to influence partial as opposed to total development. For instance, concentration on cotton, restricted cultivation to the Lake regions with favorable climate for its growth; and on coffee to West Lake, Kilimanjaro and Rungwe areas.

The inaccessibility of areas was a very strong reason for their neglect by colonial administrators. Liebenow has this to say:

> Umakonde was the victim of residual decision-making in which . . . higher priorities were given by colonial administrators to European wars and depressions than to the welfare of colonial peoples, and in which greater attention was given to the productive capacities of the Chagga area and the hostile attitudes of the Hehe than the quiescent, remote, and unpromising area of Umakonde.[15] (underlining added).

The attempt to bridge the disparity created by colonialism between ethnic groups, between Africans and non-Africans and between regions and districts is one of the greatest headaches of the Tanzanian government. The work has just begun and there is a long way to go before it is accomplished. S.N. Eisenstadt emphasizes:

> A characteristic of the whole process of transition to change in underdeveloped societies is that it has been and continues to be unbalanced. Certain main elements of this lack of balance have long been recognized and more or less correctly attributed to the basic nature of colonialism.[16]

As will be noted later in this paper, one reason why Tanzania pays more attention to rural areas is the desire to reduce the gap between urban and rural development, for one aspect of unbalanced colonial development was also the relative neglect of rural communities vis-a-vis urban areas.

Assumptions Underlying Colonial Administration.

The evidence regarding a colonial style of development should make it possible to attempt to make a summary of the principles on which its development was based. The colonial style of introducing change seems to have been guided by certain philosophical orientations. These assumptions seem to have been sometimes explicit but also sometimes subtle. The discovery of these assumptions or beliefs enables one to view colonial development as a systematic approach. Some of these assumptions are as follows:

(1) That Colonial people are not capable of sizable economic, social and technological change

Brett makes a revealing comment in this connection:

> More particularly they shared almost without exception the twin assumptions of virtually any form of colonial system that the colonized people were not capable of governing themselves 'under the strenuous conditions of the modern world'.[17]

Viewed in this way Africans could only expect the simplest form of socialization--simple technology. The absence of noteworthy technical institutions in colonial days is indicative of this belief in an inherent incapacity of Africans to learn technical matters. It also partly explains why only a few low-grade schools were opened. Even the reasons for the availability of only the simplest forms of social service results from the assumption that the Africans did not need higher social benefits.

(2) Only the ever-presence of Europeans would change the face of Africa

The fact that before Europe penetrated Africa little modern form of development existed was noted early in this chapter. However, the belief that even after being brought face-to-face with modern civilization the African would not wake up was a very serious belief which was greatly to influence the manner in which change on the African continent was sought and directed. This belief was one reason why settlers' agriculture was encouraged and subsidized at the expense of indigenous farming. It also partly accounts for a greater European voice in many matters concerning colonial development and explains claims for greater European rights and privileges.

(3) The appropriate African role in colonial development and administration was to be always supportive

Since the whites were to lead in every area of development and administration, Africans were to be trained only to the extent necessary to support white-led activity. This view tended to result in a smaller number of badly trained African civil servants, which in turn led to their receiving lower salaries and fewer and inferior privileges. It also led to the near absence of Africans in the political, agricultural, industrial and commercial arenas. Even the colonial reluctance to establish universities could be justified by the same argument.

(4) The overriding needs of the colonial power should take priority over the needs and problems of the colonial people

Although some developments arising from British needs indirectly and sometimes directly benefited the colonial people (the building of railways, for example), these projects, as noted earlier, did not always fit into local needs. Moreover they tended to serve British settlers and administrators in the colonies and not the indigenous people at large. They also tended to limit development in the colonies: for example, British interest in only one or two basic cash crops that the colonies were to produce for export limited the number of regions that could develop agriculturally. Cultivation of crops other than those stipulated was not possible because the colonial power would not buy them.

(5) The colonial administrator was performing a humanitarian job--the burden of civilizing primitive people

Liebenow's statement appears to explain this attitude well:

> In terms of contemporary European standards of morality during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the innovative colonial administrator may have been regarded as a humanitarian, who had responded to the Kipling's challenge to take up the 'white man's burden'. To the subjects of colonial rule, the administrator was at best a benign meddler.[18]

Conceiving himself as a humanitarian sent out to carry out the white man's burden, the colonial administrator saw no reason why he should be questioned regarding the pace at which he was effecting change and the type of change he was introducing. A beggar does not have to decide how much the benefactor will give him nor how often he will do so.

(6) Development efforts should be based on accident and accessibility

Differential development within a country and even within one ethnic group was partly the result of historical accidents and accessibility. Colonial administration did not intervene to correct the imbalance. Some of the factors for unbalanced development seem to include the following:

(a) Missionary Activity - where missions established themselves and started schools, agriculture, et cetera, development was to be faster (by colonial standards) than where missionaries did not choose to settle. Thus the Chagga developed faster than the Masai, Bukoba faster than Magoma, Rungwe faster than Ukinga. Colonial administration did not view its duty as being to step in and equalize, or at least narrow, the gap between these societies or areas and it naively regarded the lucky societies or areas as demonstrating innovativeness while the unlucky ones reflected lack of innovativeness.

(b) Climate - certain areas were favoured by the colonialists because their climate was viewed as congenial to their health. These areas were to receive more attention than those viewed as having unfavorable climate. For this reason Arusha was better attended to than Songea, and Rungwe than Usangu. Again the same naivete prevailed regarding the innovative and non-innovative nature of these areas respectively.

(c) Accessibility - areas inaccessible were simply neglected. For those areas there were to be no or very few roads, schools, hospitals, et cetera.

(7) The use of force was the best method for initiating change among Africans

All extension work was mostly coercive. Motivational approaches to development were almost non-existent. Notes Ingle:

> Under the enlightened colonial policy of the 1950's and the watchful eye of the United Nations, compulsion took the form of enforcement of agricultural ordinances that tried to govern the agricultural practices of the peasant farmer.[19]

And Liebenow adds:

> Government consisted of 'bugging the people' to pay taxes, to provide labour, road construction and other coercive measures.[20]

The history of compulsory labour actually started long before the British arrived in Tanzania. It started with the Germans who needed African labour on their plantations and in public works. Ingle notes:

> After putting down the Maji Maji Rebellion in South-eastern Tanganyika in a similar fashion (that is, by using ruthless means to restore order and to obtain compliance) during 1905-1906, the Germans increased their attention to agricultural development, particularly in estate agriculture . . . . A prominent feature of the estate effort was the use of compulsory labour, enforced by the use of the rhinoceros (Kiboko) hide whip.[21]

As noted from quotations from Ingle and Liebenow above, the British continued this policy.

(8) Development efforts should involve rural communities only minimally

As the evidence has so far demonstrated, this neglect of rural areas was the inevitable result of the deliberate effort to guarantee labour for European settlers, and of complying with British needs and problems. If Britain needed only cotton, then only settlers or a few ethnic groups would grow cotton and the rest would simply be left on their own, usually to seek paid employment in European plantations or public works. It has already been noted that infrastructural developments were made in towns where colonial administrators resided and in settler plantations. This biased approach tended to create an imbalance between rural and urban development. This legacy still remains today and this is one reason why the present Tanzanian government is stressing rural development.

Quotations from Brett and others have indicated how African peasants were discriminated against in the handling of their agricultural produce. The neglect of rural communities is reflected in the fewer and ill-trained rural cadres and officers, absence of research for many African-grown crops, especially food crops, and lack of a comprehensive planning for this sector. All economic institutions--the banks for example--avoided any dealings with rural African enterprises except, and much later, where cooperatives in a few districts became strong. It has been pointed out that a somewhate determined effort by government to introduce some change in rural areas through ordinances came late in the 1950's when local political agitation was devastatingly discrediting colonial efforts made up till then, and because the United Nations (Tanganyika was a Trust Territory) had sharpened its watchful eye.

(9) African participation in his own development should not involve controversial issues or give him strength that would enable him to challenge the governors

S.N. Eisenstadt makes a revealing statement in this respect:

> While the colonial powers . . . were interested in loyalty and were concerned with the transformation of certain institutional aspects--especially technical aspects of the social structure, they wanted at the same time to base these innovations not on new types of solidarity and general political orientations and participation of the main strata of the population.[22]

Colonial policy in Tanganyika was that of 'Indirect Rule' which was supposedly intended to offer an alternative to direct rule. The Africans would be ruled in accordance with their own traditions as embodied in their institutions. Facts now reveal that Indirect Rule was mainly a tool of keeping law and order among the Africans.

It was, in the final anaylsis, a way of preventing change that the Africans needed as a result of their contacts with the whites.

Colonial fear of involving Africans in controversial issues or of allowing them to organize for power resulted in strict regulation of political activities and hence hampered solidarity among the Africans. Only the 'good' boys were nominated to the Legislative Council. Africans were only encouraged to do routine things like collecting taxes, mastering court procedures, et cetera.

It seems useful to end this section by quoting Brett's quotation from Austen as a further demonstration of colonial administration's clever manipulation of traditional institutions in order to avoid involving Africans too much in areas that would threaten their power:

> . . . conscious expressions of dedication to Indirect Rule are constantly accompanied by the strengthening of the bureaucratic apparatus which denies the possibility of autonomous local development . . . the more colonial native policy, the less African politics.[23]

(10) Development efforts should be evaluated in terms of national or even continental averages

As evidence has so far shown, colonial administration was not interested in changes aimed at the broad mass of the population but rather at a few people who were lucky. By quoting average figures Britain and colonial administrators could show that some progress was being made in the colonies but because they were average figures one could not tell how much progress the various ethnic groups or regions were making. For example, Albert Meiser notes that before the

Second World War there were 500 African undergraduates pursuing studies in Britain from all over the British colonies. Most of these could have been coming from West Africa and only a handful representing East Africa. Or even if they all came from one country, say Tanzania, the figure might have represented only two ethnic groups out of a total of more than 120. In Tanzania, most of the talk about the introduction of cash crops among the Africans in colonial days mainly referred to Rungwe, Bukoba, Moshi and Mwanza areas, which grew coffee and cotton. The greater part of the country was not affected by the so-called cash economy. Thus general economic data disguised many gross inequalities.

Conclusion

The examination of the colonial administration seems to lead to the following conclusions with regard to its mode of development.

Slow and Minimal Development

The colonial model of development seems to have resulted in slow and minimal change because of:

(a) Attitudes

(i) The indigenous people were seen in most cases as being different and inferior to the white man. The implication of this attitude was, among other things, to result in providing the indigenous people with inferior social, economic, educational, and health services and opportunities.

(ii) At best the indigenous people's role was seen as that of supporting colonial masters. The colonial African's role was, in other words, mainly residual. Seen in this light, the African could not, in most cases, expect to get advanced educational, technical and scientific training. His role in decision-making, if not altogether nonexistent, was to be equally minimal. It was to be consistent with his residual role.

(iii) Supporting the above attitude, and perhaps causing it, was the belief that the indigenous, the African, was incapable of achieving higher levels of social, economic and technical change. This meant by implication developing the colonized African only to the extent assumed compatible with his low capability and in conformity with his residual role.

(b) Lack of Concern for Overall Development

(i) Since an overall development plan or policy was lacking, that is development efforts were not concerned with total development for the majority of Tanzanians, only a few areas or tribes came into contact with significant economic and social changes.

(ii) Because of this approach unbalanced development was the result.

(c) Concern with Metropolitan Needs

The needs and problems of the metropolitan centre, that is the colonial power, did a great deal to slow development:

(i) The metropolitan centre set limits as to what the colony could and could not do, for example the kind of crops that could be grown in the colonial territory. Since normally one or two crops were all that the metropolitan centre wanted, the number of tribes and areas that could engage in monetized agriculture was greatly reduced. Furthermore, expatriate agriculture was encouraged and subsidized more than indigenous agriculture with the result that thelatter sector served as a reservoir of plantation labour. Industrially, the colonial countries could not easily establish their own industries because that decision would have worked against the interests of the home (metropolitan) country. Indigenous industries or crafts were in fact forbidden except those which did not pose competition with metropolitan industries.

(ii) Since development needs of a colony originated from the metropolitan centre, they did not always fit well with the local situation, nor could the metropolitan centre be expected to be responsive to the local needs and problems fast enough.

Colonialism Seen From CD Perspective

As an approach for introducing and directing change, and if this is looked at from the point of view of Community Development principles, colonial administration had a number of limitations:

(a) Its concern was largely with trying to get people to accept decisions emanating from above rather than to encourage the indigenous people to significantly influence these decisions. The traditional system, supposedly representing and working according to local interests, was in fact a means of keeping them quiet. It was often distorted to suit the interests of the governors. The traditional chief or headman deferred to the District Commissioner. He was not subject any longer to the tribal sanctions.

(b) Motivation was largely neglected. The civil servants, even those working with the grass roots were encouraged or, at least left, to employ force and not to educate. The use of force was in the last days of colonialism disguised as ordinances. As it is very well known in CD, indiscriminate use of force is not conducive to securing a healthy working relationship with the change target, that is, the indigenous people needing change. Moreover, this meant that if government officials using force were not around, the superficial changes introduced were simply abandoned. This means in fact that the changes introduced were not to be lasting ones.

Footnotes

1. Nyerere, J.K., "Statement to the U.N. Fourth Committee, 1956" in Freedom and Unity by Nyerere, J.K., Dar es Salaam, Oxford University Press, 1967, (p. 42).

2. Daily News, July 3, 1974, (p. xiii).

3. Nyerere, J.K., 'Statement to the U.N. Fourth Committee, 1956' in Freedom and Unity, by J.K. Nyerere, Dar es Salaam, Oxford University Press, 1967, (pp. 40-41).

4. Brett, E.A., Colonialism and Underdevelopment in East Africa; London, Nairobi, Heineman, 1973 (p. 22).

5. Gross, B.M., 'From Divide-and-Rule to Divide-and-Develop' in Burke, F.G. Tanganyika: Preplanning, New York, Syracuse University Press, 1965 (p. xii).

6. Meister, A., East Africa: The Past in Chains, the Future in Pawn; New York, Walker and Company (translated by P.N. Ott), 1968.

7. Ibid. (pp. 112-113).

8. Brett, E.A., Colonialism and Underdevelopment in East Africa, op. cit. (p. 22).

9. Ibid., (p. 293).

10. Ibid., (p. 295-296).

11. Ibid., (p. 297).

12. Ibid., (pp. 300-301).

13. Ibid., (p. 39).

14. Meister, A., op. cit. (pp. 38-39).

15. Liebenow, J. Gus, The Colonial Rule and Political Development in Tanzania: The Case of the Makonde, Evanston, Northwestern University Press, 1971 (p. 334).

16. Eisenstadt, S.N., "Political Development" in Amitai Etzioni and Eva Etzioni: Social Change: Sources, Patterns and Consequences, New York, London, Basic Books Inc. Publishers, 1964 (p. 310).

17. Brett, E.A., op. cit. (pp. 41-43).

18. Liebenow, J.G., op. cit. (p. 11).

19. Ingle, C.R., From Village to State in Tanzania (The Politics of Rural Development), Ithaca and London, Cornell University Press, 1972 (p. 46).

20. Liebenow, J.G., op. cit. (p. 336).

21. Ingle, C.R., op. cit. (pp. 40-41).

22. Eisenstadt, S.N., in Amitai and Eva Etzioni, op. cit. (p. 312).

23. Austen, R.A. "Northern Tanzania Under German and British Rule" in E.A. Brett, op. cit. (p. 302).

CHAPTER III

TANZANIA'S NATIONAL LEVEL MODEL OF DEVELOPMENT: TANZANIA'S DEVELOPMENT EFFORTS SINCE INDEPENDENCE

On the whole the writer is of the opinion that Tanzanian development policies and the groundwork laid immediately after achieving independence reflect a reaction against the lack of development, and the political and economic assumptions, in the colonial period, described in the previous chapter. They also reflect a genuine desire, on the part of the national leaders, to improve the economic, social and cultural conditions of Tanzanians particularly the disadvantaged rural peasants.

Another thing worth noting here is that Tanzania's emphasis on the 'development of man' in addition to material things seems to be quite compatible with the principles or philosophy of Community Development. The following statement by Nyerere is indicative of Tanzania's commitment to securing the masses' participation in development endeavours:

> The purpose of the Arusha Declaration and of Mwongozo was to give the people power over their own lives and their own development. We have made great progress in seizing power from the hands of capitalists and traditionalists, but we must face the fact that to the mass of the people, power is still wielded by others--even if on their behalf.
>
> Thus it gradually became obvious that, in order to make a reality of our policies of socialism and self-reliance, the planning and control of development in this country must be exercised at the local level to a much greater extent than at present.[1]

What seems to be the main problem is the implementation of these policies at the regional, district and local levels. In the following pages, in addition to discussing Tanzania's development endeavours, the problems of this implementation will be indicated when the assessment of the translation of policies in action is made.

Establishing Groundwork for Development

For a newly independent state like Tanzania, not all observers would agree that the evaluation of the development efforts consists in noting only the quantifiable tangible results such as can be reflected by economic statistics. The new state is normally confronted with a multitude of problems, as Mazrui comments:

> . . . nation-building is derived from the simple fact that so much of the work of turning newly invented, fragile states into more secure, integrated nations is analogous to construction. Institutions are to be built for the management of tensions between groups; bridges are to be constructed between tradition and modernity; calculation is necessary for the creation of new shapes of relationship; foundations are to be laid for a new national heritage.[2]

It would appear that the establishment of groundwork to enhance desirable changes or to solve old problems is as important as the tangible results themselves. Adequate assessment of a new fragile state, therefore, must take cognizance of these efforts. It is, of course, difficult to take into account all aspects of this groundwork for Tanzania. Only a few examples of this background work will be noted here.

(a) Modifying the Colonial Administrative Structure

One of the tasks facing Tanzania at independence was to restructure the administrative machinery at the regional and district levels so as to make it more responsive to the desired changes for economic and social development. Since TANU had been popular with the masses, there was a need to somehow incorporate it in government at these levels. At the time it was clear to the TANU government that the existing civil service was somewhat conservative and therefore less suited to promote, all by itself, radical changes if rapid progress was to be forthcoming in the regions. Stephens comments:

> Most of the governmental apparatus, and its officials as well, remained unchanged from the colonial era, and TANU lacked the viability necessary to manage the profound and contentious tasks of nation-building.[3]

One way of resolving this problem was to fuse TANU with administration at the regional and district levels. Garry Thomas elaborates:

> The new administrative units were given new titles and Regional Commissioners, Area Commissioners and Division Executive Officers were chosen primarily on the basis of party loyalty and proven political effectiveness . . . their duties beyond administration included major responsibility for party discipline and policy programmes and the "interpretation of the Three Year Development Plan in practical terms right down to the village level."[4]

Regional and Area Commissioners are still important in the coordination and supervision of rural development today. They are also the regional and district secretaries of TANU. In these capacities they are able at least theoretically to supervise and coordinate both the activities of government and TANU in their regions and districts. They do not concern themselves with the day-to-day administrative duties of either government or TANU, hence they are able to travel estensively in the country-side listening and interpreting government policy to the rural masses. Regional and Area Commissioners also chair Regional and District Development Committees and Councils. (These Committees are discussed in section (c) below.) In addition Regional Commissioners are ex-officio members of Parliament.

Another important change was the decision in 1964 to allow civil servants to join TANU. This was an important decision because it made it possible for highly qualified and experienced civil servants to occupy the semi-political positions of Regional and Area Commissioners. These had hitherto been recruited from TANU ranks.

(b) One Party State

Most Western readers will find it difficult to imagine the establishment of a one-party state as an endeavour towards nation building. To see why this is considered so in Tanzania one needs to understand, among other things, the nature of TANU's political struggle; the extent of opposition to TANU before and after independence; the perceived threat to national security and the urgency of needed mobilization for development.

During the struggle for independence only TANU emerged as the people's choice. After independence TANU triumphed once again.

Opposition to TANU both before and after independence failed hopelessly to materialize. As Mazrui points out, Tanzania was, therefore, obviously a one-party state:

> Tanzania was a de factor one-part state from the first day of independence, at which time there was only one member of Parliament belonging to an opposition party. Little more than a year after independence, plans were afoot to convert the country into a de jure one-party state, and this was accomplished in 1965.[5]

The withering of the opposition in Tanzania worried TANU leaders. They recognized the mobilization role of TANU for desirable changes but they feared the disappearance of the opposition might mean mass disinterest in TANU too. Potholm comments as follows:

> Because of lack of opposition it was felt that TANU as an effective institution might well wither away . . . . Therefore, the President appointed a Commission to examine the ways in which a blend of direction and democratic participation might be achieved within the framework of a single party system.[6]

The aim of legalizing a one-part state, then, was to make the fullest utilization of the countrywide TANU organization possible. This countrywide organization had hitherto worked to counter opposition to TANU. This opposition had now disappeared and a new role--the development role had to be devised.

The urgency with which a developing nation needs to mobilize its available human resources, in the eyes of the proponents of the one-party state, also works in favour of the establishment of one-party democracy. This school of thought contends that a new state is in fact at war with poverty, ignorance and disease. While these are the major national problems it becomes a waste of the scarce human resources to indulge in petty party politics. Burke notes:

> President Nyerere has called his first 5-Year Plan a declaration of War calling everyone in the nation to be a soldier: "Our weapons are our hands and brains; on the land, in the factories, in the classrooms; in hospitals; all of us, politicians, civil servants, soldiers, policemen, men, women, and children. Let us say 'It can be done; play your part'.[7]

However, Tanzania does not see the establishment of a one-party state as curtailing the citizen's freedom. On the contrary, this is seen as the most realistic way of enhancing that freedom and responsibility to their country. On appointing the One-Party State Commission, Nyerere emphasized:

> (a) Tanganyika will remain a Republic with an executive Head of State;
> (b) the Rule of Law and the independence of the Judiciary shall be preserved;
> (c) there shall be complete equality for all Tanganyikan citizens;
> (d) there shall be the maximum political freedom for all citizens within the context of a single national movement;
> (e) there shall be the maximum possible participation by the people in their own government and ultimate control by them over all the organs of state on a basis of universal suffrage;
> (f) there shall be complete freedom for the people to choose their own representatives on all Representative and Legislative bodies within the context of the Law.[8]

A number of observers are satisfied that the Tanzanian one-part model of democracy is truly democratic and it is achieving the ends for which it was instituted. Burke[9] is one of these observers. According to him the provision of widespread and significant participation in society involves, in addition to attaining political democracy, giving:

(i) Individual democracy which provides individuals with the rights of juridical self-defence;

(ii) Economic democracy which offers full opportunities for useful employment and at least minimum levels of food, shelter, medical care, education and recreation;

(iii) Social democracy which guarantees that political and economic rights shall not be interfered with because of a person's colour, race, religion, national origin or sex; and

(iv) Organizational democracy which gives members of organizations challenging work, gives opportunities for individualism and self-development and recognizes individual rights and responsibilities.

Burke adds that any significant endeavours to assess or improve democratic institutions in any country necessitates attention to all of these types of democracy. The traditional democratic version is apt to be a dangerous myth when automatically applied, as it has been done by Western political leaders, to preindustrial developing countries. This indiscriminate application at best becomes a way of proclaiming the superiority of Westerners and the inferiority of new states. And at worst, it confuses outward form with underlying reality.

Burke believes TANU is a dominant mass party, a system which combines the advantages of purposeful leadership, a devolopmentally-oriented doctrine, the capacity to mobilize and discipline widespread support and participation and the ability to deploy a variety of action and communication instruments. By virtue of these advantages this type of system appears to be especially pertinent to the needs and problems of transitional societies experiencing radical transformation.

Christian P. Potholm has also observed the Tanzanian one-party democracy and comments:

> . . . in the light of the present erosion of democratic politics throughout the Third World, the accomplishment of Tanzania seems well worth noting. It (Tanzania) seems to have evolved, in a few short years, a system designed to prevent political fragmentation and to curb the centrifugal forces which threaten so many other regimes, at the same time preserving a democratic core which ensures, indeed encourages meaningful and widespread participation.[10]

It can be said, then, that the Tanzanian one-party system seems to be working, at least for the moment. And it is geared to the needs of development, that is, the system discourages petty opposition which tends to distract people away from the more urgent issues of bringing in desirable economic and social changes, but introduces other means of attaining democracy as Burke and Potholm note above.

(c) Popular Participation and the Evolution of Development Committees

One of the inadequacies of the Colonial Development Model, it was indicated in Chapter II, was lack of concern for local involvement. The establishment of Development Committees from the village to regional levels after independence was one way of correcting the inadequacies of colonial administration. Today the existence of these committees provides one of the most important links between the Central government and Central TANU organization and the masses. It is one of the cornerstones of Tanzania's democratic process.

The development committees being examined here are: the Village Development Committees (VDCs), the District Development Committee (DDCs), later renamed the District Development and Planning Committees (DD & PCs) and the Regional Development Committees (RDCs). These committees, as they shall be noted under the 'Decentralization Programme', have undergone some changes since they were first inaugurated in 1962. For example, the Village Development Committee (VDC) is now expanded and known as the Ward Development Committee (WDC), and the District Development and Planning Committee (DD & PC) is now the District Development Council (DDC) while the DD & PC has been retained as a subcommittee of the DDC. However, in this section they will be examined in terms of their format in their evolutionary days.

The evolution and continuation of development committees in Tanzania is due to a number of factors. The most conspicuous factor is the popularity of TANU during the struggle for independence. The overwhelming TANU support and its skillful nurturing by TANU leaders ensured that it would be available later for development work, or as Tanzanians are fond of calling it, nation-building. TANU had made sure before independence that the Wananchi (masses) are aware of the fact that independence meant also 'hard work' in order to bring about desirable changes. A short period before independence the TANU slogan "Uhuru na Umoja" (Freedom and Unity) had to change to "Uhuru na Kazi" (Freedom and work). Nyerere points out that:

> For many years TANU had campaigned on the slogan Uhuru na Kazi ("Freedom and Work"). And as the independence date approached, TANU leaders had been stressing that 'what we have won is the right to work for ourselves, the right to design and build our own future.' The real commitment with independence was thus to 'build the nation' and to establish 'dignity' for all.[11]

However, while during the colonial days TANU had no chance of uniting people's efforts with those of the government administration, this time was the chance to do so. The efforts of the masses at the local, district and regional levels, had to be fused with those of the central administration. Development committees were one way of achieving this fusion. There is no doubt that the organization which was to be established in order to act as what Nyerere calls a "two-way all-weather"[12] road was to be utilized both as a TANU and as a government tool. And this is how the development committees have been used to date. They have acted as a meeting ground for TANU, government and the masses. With the 'Decentralization Programme' which will be examined later in this Chapter, the role of TANU has even been further augmented.

The need for development committees was also a by-product of the masses' response to TANU's call for nation-building. Following the attainment of independence and on the basis of a report prepared by the World Bank,[13] Tanzania prepared a Three Year Development Plan, 1961/63. The provisions of this plan soon proved inadequate. They were not high enough in the opinions of many Tanzanians. Rutman has noted:

> The Th[illegible]-Year Development Plan (1961/62-1963/64) amounted to a capital budget . . . (1) the development of livestock and

> agricultural production including water development and irrigation, (2) the construction of a trunk road system, and (3) the development of secondary and technical education.[14]

Because of the dissatisfaction with the rate of growth contained in the Three Year Plan Self-help Schemes later to be designated as 'nation-building schemes' were initiated. Local enthusiasm for self-help schemes was so overwhelming that projects sprang up everywhere--feeder roads, primary schools, clinics and health centres, community centres, TANU offices, literacy classes, et cetera. It soon became obvious that coordination of all these projects was urgently needed if the supplementary government assistance in the form of financial, personnel and material resources were to be available for all of them. The obvious vehicle for discussing development projects, as Thomas observes, was the Village Development Committee:

> Near the end of February 1962 . . . Regional Commissioners were instructed to see to the establishment of Village Development Committees (VDC) in their Regions which would truly represent the people and be capable of assessing village needs and of assessing priorities for village development. These committees were also designed to encourage increased agricultural productivity and an organizational base for self-help schemes. At the same time committees were established at the district and regional levels to process VDC requests for project aid and to incorporate isolated requests into Village, District and Regional Development Plans.[15]

This statement explains the intended role of development committees. The VDCs were not merely to deal with the processing of requests for self-help projects but they were also and, more importantly, to attempt local planning which would be incorporated through district and regionals plans, into national planning. The above quotation also reveals that district and regional development committees arose initially to deal with village requests for self-help projects. As time went on, however, they were urged to make practical plans through the incorporation of local plans and requests. As will be clear later, when 'Decentralization Programme' is examined, development planning is now the chief preoccupation, at least potentially, of the regional, district and village development committees. This step has been taken to enable the regions to reflect genuine rural development. The move means that the regions, and therefore the districts, can implement their own development plans without recourse to the national headquarters--a chief impediment to the initiation and implementation of local projects in the past, that is, from 1961 to 1971.

(i) The Role of the Community Development Division

The initial success of these committees was also due to the role played by Tanzania Community Development Division. It was the Community Development Division which supervised the elections of the first Village Development Committees, it was also responsible for their training and the intepretation of their role. All local-level Community Development Assistants sat in these committees and acted as resource persons for them. At the district level the Community Development Division interpreted the role of the District Development Planning Committee (DD & PC), ensured that the committees' deliberations incorporated local priorities and plans and supervised the corruption-ridden District Councils. Community Development personnel played an interpretation role at the regional level although, here, the supervision of the expenditure of funds was not relevant. The regions were not accounting units for development expenditure.

The success of Community Development with development committees is due to its concern with the human factor in development endeavours. During the colonial era Community Development was a relatively unknown and unimportant urban affair. Garry Thomas provides one of the colonial conceptions of Community Development, then Social Development, as follows:

> The importance of social development cannot be over stressed in the present political atmosphere. This atmosphere creates a great deal of uncertainty, particularly among the youths in towns, and it is most important to have well-organized activities to which they can turn.[16]

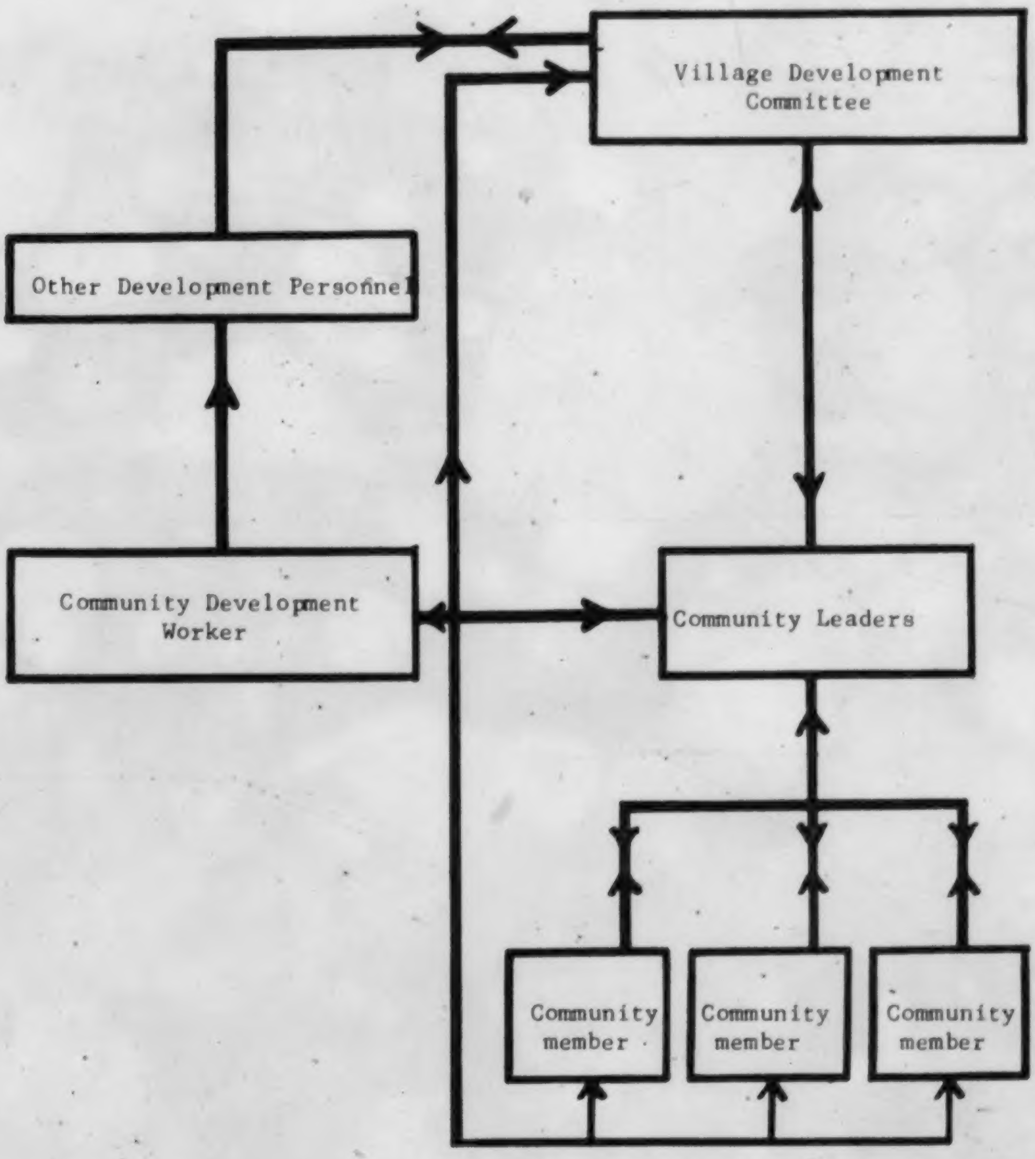
and comments that:

> In fact it was hoped that Community Development would 'keep the natives happy' and divert their attention from political activity. . . . it was one means of providing for rapproachment between government and an increasingly more political aware people.[17]

With the achievement of independence in 1961 the aims of Community Development changed radically. From now on it was to become a national tool for bringing desirable change among Tanzanians, especially in rural areas. It was to help people in communities overcome poverty, poor health and disease, ignorance, outdated cultural values and practices. It was to encourage efforts which would augment existing amenities and services--the building of feeder roads, primary schools classes, dispensaries, health centres and community centres. Community Development was to help the people improve ~~their~~ social, economic, and cultural conditions. In 1962, the estimated value of Community Development Self-help efforts totalled 60 million shillings while the amount supplied by the government in their aid was 40,000 shillings.[18]

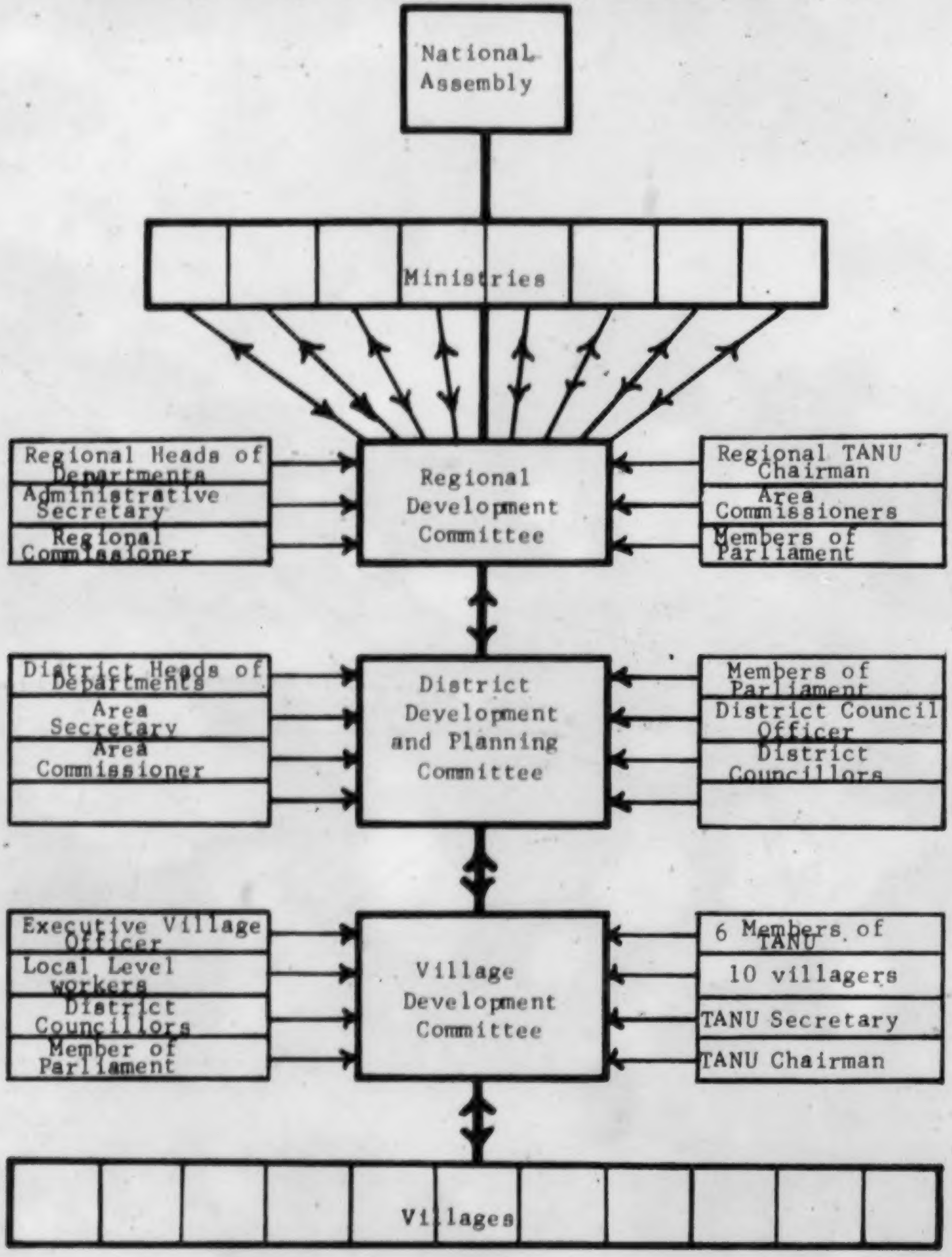
Figure 1 highlights the role of a CD worker in Tanzania. In this illustration 'other development personnel' refers to extension workers such as those from agricultural, health, veterinary, natural resources (Forests, Fisheries and Wild Life) and education departments. 'Community leaders' refers to Community leaders such as members of the Village Development Committee, Councillors, influential and knowledgeable village residents. And the 'Community member' is the common member of the local population. It should be clear from this illustration that a skillful Community Development Worker can improve the effectiveness of community members, community leaders, other development personnel, and the community's planning body, the Village Development Committee. The role of CD workers with regard to the VDC has already been noted above. The CD worker improves the role of other development personnel by encouraging interdepartmental coordination of development efforts at this level, by making them aware of community feelings--their likes and dislikes--and by helping them to relate to community leaders and particularly the VDC. The CD worker can also help community leaders, especially members of the VDC by improving their confidence, their discussion skills, their sensitivity to community problems and needs, their recognition and utilization of local and external material and human resources and by making all helpful and relevant information available to them. The Chairman and the Secretary of the VDC are especially needful of this individual help in and outside the VDC meetings. The common community member is helped by individual visits,

Figure 1. Pre-decentralization: The Role of the Community Development Worker With Respect to the Village Development Committee, Tanzania, 1972


Village Development Committee
Other Development Personnel
Community Development Worker
Community Leaders
Community member
Community member
Community member

Source: Prepared by the author from his past experience as a Community Development Officer in the country.

Figure 2. The Pre-decentralization Structure of Planning from the Village to the Ministerial Level, Tanzania, June 1972.


National Assembly
Ministries
Regional Heads of Departments
Administrative Secretary
Regional Commissioner
Regional Development Committee
Regional TANU Chairman
Area Commissioners
Members of Parliament
District Heads of Departments
Area Secretary
Area Commissioner
District Development and Planning Committee
Members of Parliament
District Council Officer
District Councillors
Executive Village Officer
Local Level workers
District Councillors
Member of Parliament
Village Development Committee
6 Members of TANU
10 villagers
TANU Secretary
TANU Chairman
Villages

Source: Constructed from the author's experience as a Community Development Officer in the country.

through mass media (such as film shows), mass meetings and demonstrations. When all this is said, however, it should be remembered that this is one way of stating the role of a CD worker, very briefly.

(ii) Problems Facing Development Committees

Community Development workers in Tanzania are fond of saying, 'the more local problems you solve, the more you create'. This popular statement seems to be true with regard to development committees. Development Committees were established to solve local problems but the new ones created in the process of utilizing these committees are also not negligible. However, when this is said one should not draw the conclusion that they have been a complete failure. These committees have done a great deal to fulfill the function for which they were instituted. The problems they tended and tend to reflect should be regarded as a sign of growth (the committees seem to have outgrown their initial function) rather than one of degeneration. In order for them to function well at this stage, it seems necessary to reorganize regional administration and local government bodies at the district level as well as the national ministerial set up. In fact this is what the 'Decentralization Programme' has tried to do.

So far, observers who have tried to assess the problems of these committees seem to fail to hit the nail on the head. The following quotation from Bienen is typical of this failure:

> However, while they are critically placed in the development committee hierarchy with regard to watching over village plans and seeing that final plans are implemented they are too local to be able to plan final targets, and must rely on the next highest, the RDCs, to check the consistency of

the VDC's projects they approve.[19]

This criticism places the blame on DDCs. However, the problem of local planning does not lie solely with DDCs although they can be criticised on other bases. District Development Committees were never meant to be final processors of village and district plans. The procedure (see Figure 2), which was nationally determined, required them to submit the plans to the regional level. Moreover RDCs held the Regional Development Fund (RDF). More specifically the RDCs held more power over the use of this Fund although the accounting unit for the Fund was the district through the District Council. It was a usurpation by the RDC of a district financial resource. The Fund was meant to aid local projects of an economic nature.

The districts and even regions did not have funds (apart from the RDF and the Self-help Funds) with which to implement comprehensive plans. Development funds were held by ministries in Dar es Salaam. The ministries in Dar es Salaam were not coordinated and district and regional plans were subject to fragmentation and approval by these separate ministries. Lacking a coordinating machinery in Dar es Salaam for district and regional plans, these ministries often failed to incorporate them. This practice, this ministerial lip service to local planning killed district interest in making plans. The best the latter could do was to make lists for projects that could be implemented with self-help funds (which was not subject to national control) and the RDF, (which was not subject to withdrawal by the Treasury at the end of the Financial Year). Both funds were supplied by the Community Development Division. However, as already noted above the regions had great interest in RDF and tried to exercise undue control over it.

Development Committees at the district and regional levels were further weakened by divided departmental loyalties. Unlike the present scheme of comprehensive decentralization of administrative and planning powers to the regions and districts (see 'Decentralization' below), each district and regional head of department was bound to respect directives from his ministry rather than those of the DDCs and Area Commissioners and RDCs and Regional Commissioners. For this reason local officials were not always in a position to implement local plans wholeheartedly. They implemented projects for which ministries gave support or priority. The DDCs and RDCs were less autonomous because although the ACs and RCs were the overall coordinators and supervisors of government departments they had no power to impose their decisions on officials' day-to-day performance except with consent of ministries in Dar es Salaam. Area (District) and Administrative (Regional) Secretaries were in theory the heads of all district and regional civil servants respectively. In practice however, they were unable to impose their rulings because this required the acquiescence of the parent ministries. Area and Administrative Secretaries were administrators by training and experience and they lacked the insight of the technical staff's departments. Their directives were easily discarded by the other departmental staff as being technically impractical. In fact, Area and Administrative Secretaries were merely another type of district and regional heads with their own ministerial superiors in Dar es Salaam. They belonged to the Ministry of Regional Administration and Rural Development which was just another ministry with no extra powers over the other ministries. In fact it was not even the most important ministry.

This survey should serve to show that coordination at the district and regional levels was very fragile. The Decentralization Programm of 1972, to be examined later, was instituted to correct these difficulties among other things.

Inefficiency and sluggishness at the district level did a great deal to discourage village activity. One reason why VDCs were required to forward their requests and plans to the district was to expedite their being heard at the districl level. For this reason it was decided not to have a divisional development committee, although districts are subdivided into divisions (and then the divisions into villages or now wards). VDC requests and plans went to the DDC through the District Council. The DC was required to process these requests and transmit to the DDC. But DCs have been slack in processing VDC requests and plans. Delays in processing village plans resulted in the decrease of VDC interest in planning. The DCs not only failed to process VDC plans but they also failed to supply materials and equipment even if these have been approved by DDCs. It was the duty of DCs to buy these requested materials and to send them to the sites of the projects. This work was not always done well, with resultant frustration at the local level. The District Council also misappropriated funds and materials allocated to VDC projects, usually for personal use. So much for the development committees. It is now time to turn to another aspect of foundation laying--the adoption of Swahili as a national language.

(d) Swahili Language

The development and encouragement of Swahili as a national language had done much to help Tanzania mobilize its human resources, particularly, for political involvement. Swahili is a predominantly African language which does not associate itself with any one tribal grouping and is thus seen as helping national integration. A new state needs national unity before meaningful nation-building can be achieved. A neutral language such as Swahili helps communication between the leaders and the masses.

A further advantage of having a national language like Swahili, Mazrui[20] notes, is that it enables a nation to formulate ideologies of its own. In a new nation, these ideologies help to popularize development decisions and models. For instance, Tanzania has popularized, through Swahili, a lot of foreign concepts such as kabaila (feudal lord), bepari (capitalist), Kupe (social parasite), unyonyaji (exploitation), and Kijitegemea (self-reliance).[21]

The fact that Swahili is spoken by a majority of Tanzanian nationals makes it possible to recruit political leaders from a wider sector of the society. It has also prevented or attempted to prevent the emergence of classes in Tanzania. Again Mazrui notes:

> Where the national language is English, the choice of leaders is inevitably restricted; it becomes anomalous to have a national leader who does not speak a national language . . . . Tanzania's social structure is more egalitarian because the sector from which leadership is recruited is bigger; and that sector of political recruitment is large and varied partly because the national language, Swahili, is not an elite language.[22]

In sum, Swahili has served a number of useful functions in Tanzania. In addition to the role of 'indigenizing what is foreign, idealizing what is indigenous, nationalizing what is sectional and emphasizing what is African',[23] the use of Swahili in Tanzania has enabled the posting of civil servants to areas which are far away from their tribal homeland. Differential development of ethnic groups during colonial administration meant that the numbers of educated people were unevenly distributed. However, the use of Swahili makes the posting of workers according to linguistic division of the country unnecessary. It has also made radio and newspaper communications easy. There can be no doubt that this language policy contributed something to the process of nation-building.

Policies for Development

In the foregoing has been surveyed and discussed the establishment of foundations, by Tanzania, on which to anchor the desired economic, social and cultural changes. This section examines some overriding policies that serve to guide the course of Tanzania's development endeavours. In a way, these are also foundations for nation-building, but while the foregoing represents some tangible attempts, policies are theoretical formulations the operationalization of which are only now being attempted or even not yet tried.

The Arusha Declaration

> The Arusha Declaration marked a turning point in Tanzanian politics. The ideology of the country was made explicit by it; also the introduction of 'leadership qualifications', and the measurers for public ownership, began a new series of deliberately socialist policy initiative.[24]

The Arush Declaration, published on February 5, 1967, at a town called Arusha, is the most important guide for Tanzanian development endeavours. Basically it expounds Tanzania's policies of Ujamaa (socialism) and Self-reliance. Tanzania's economic, social and cultural development efforts have to be consistent with the Arusha Declaration. The Declaration also set out a leadership code for individuals holding senior and middle-level positions in TANU, Government and parastatal organizations.

(a) The Policy of Ujamaa (Socialism)

Ujamaa, is the Tanzanian version of socialism. It is a concept based on the African extended family. Hence it should more appropriately be called Familyhood. Nyerere elaborates:

> The foundation of and the objective of African Socialism is the extended family . . . 'Ujamaa', . . . or 'Familyhood', describes socialism. It is opposed to capitalism which seeks to build a happy society on the basis of the exploitation of man by man; and it is equally opposed to doctrinaire socialism which seeks to build its happy society on a philosophy of inevitable conflict between man and man.[25]

Ujamaa, then, is not the same kind of socialism known in the West.

Further, in Tanzania, Ujamaa is now conceived of as ecompassing the whole society of Tanzania, not merely the clan or tribe. The belief in the generalizability of Ujamaa offers a rationale for urging the building of larger Ujamaa villages. These villages are expected to consist not only of relatives but also unrelated persons or even persons from other tribes. Larger villages are preferred to smaller villages because the former make more sense in terms of pooling labour and in utilizing certain essential services--schools, dispensaries, community centres and roads. The writer will return to the problems of Ujamaa villages later in this section but it is essential to remember that some leaders in Tanzania believe that the concept of Ujamaa is capable of wider generalization.

The other aspect of Tanzania's Ujamaa is the determined effort to do away with exploitation. It is contended that in traditional African society there was no exploitation of one man by another. Everybody was a worker unless he was infirm. Cooperation was the basis of obtaining extra assistance for community members not employment or exploitation. Moreover, loitering was inconceivable. You had to be a worker (not in the employee sense) to be respected by other members of the community. You were not respected, nor did you get other community members' hospitality and assistance if you were an idler or a loiterer. Traditional African society, then, operated in such a way that exploitation either by the rich or the social parasite (idlers) was made impossible. The traditional society cared for the sick, the elderly and those experiencing temporary problems such as famine, provided they served the community well in their better days. The Tanzanian regime and TANU believe that these qualities are all important and they can be utilized to help enhance desirable change and to solve social problems such as old age. The traditional respect for work for all able-bodied men and women can be revitalized to ensure against unemployment. All citizens will be required to work where they are needed--Ujamaa villages, offices and factories.

Tanzania prefers the major means of production to be owned jointly. In traditional African society land--the major means of production--and sometimes even domestic animals are said to have been owned jointly. This philosophy is used to justify the nationalization of certain means of production.

The existence of democracy is a further aspect of the Tanzanian conception of Ujamaa. This is clear in Nyerere's statement:

> A state is not socialist simply because its means of production and exchange are controlled by or owned by the government, either wholly or in large part . . . . True socialism cannot exist without democracy also existing in the society.[26]

The concern with the human factor in development, as the above statement indicates, is what makes the Tanzanian policies of interest to Community Development and similar disciplines.

(i) Ujamaa Villages

A major strategy for revolutionizing agriculture in the rural areas, according to Tanzanian leaders, particularly Nyerere, the country's president, lies in the establishment of Ujamaa villages. As noted in the foregoing Tanzania believes in the generalizability of the African traditional extended family so as to include members who are not necessarily linked by kinship ties. It must be large enough to make economic sense. The traditional Ujamaa living had many advantages but it also had some inadequacies. According to Nyerere these must be corrected now:

> Quite apart from personal failures to live up to the ideals and principles of the socialist system (and traditional Africa was no more composed of unselfish and hard-working angels than other parts of the world) there were two basic factors which prevented traditional society from full flowering . . . . The first of these is that . . . the women in traditional society were regarded as having a place in the community which was not only different, but also to some extent inferior . . . . The other aspect of traditional life which we have to do away with is poverty. Certainly there was an attractive degree of economic equality but it was equality of a low level . . . there was nothing inherent in the traditional system which caused this poverty; it was the result of two things only. The first was ignorance and the second was the scale of operations.[27]

In the modern Ujamaa village, then, not only will the cooperating group be extended but also that women will be accorded equal status with men. They will all be workers and will all receive equal remuneration for equal work. The work to be performed will be better organized than in a traditional village resulting in improved work discipline.

The modern Ujamaa village is not merely an economic and social service organization. It is a way of life. According to Nyerere:

> Their community would be the traditional family group or any other group of people living according to Ujamaa principles, large enough to take account of modern methods and the twentieth century needs of man. The land this community farmed would be called 'our land' by all the members; the crops they produced . . . would be 'our crops'; and it would be 'our shop'; 'our workshop' . . ., and so on.[28]

It is quite obvious from this quotation that the decision to have people live in Ujamaa villages is a very big decision indeed which will affect people in a very significant way. This is why one must expect a lot of difficulties in implementing this policy. Nyerere has stressed that people have to be persuaded to join these villages, not coerced. He has specifically mentioned 'Persuasion not Force' and 'Step-by-step Transformation'.[29] And with regard to the problems of forming them, he anticipates those arising from land shortage and pastoralism.

(ii) Problems of Implementing Ujamaa Policy

It has already been hinted that the problems of implementing Ujamaa policy seem to be really great. The official view of these problems seems to be too simplistic.

One source of the difficulties seems to arise from the fact that although Ujamaa was practiced in many parts of Tanzania, there is little evidence to show that it was uniform among the more than one hundred and twenty ethnic groups. In some of these, cooperation was limited while in others it was extensive. In fact, some people would accept Livingstone's observation as being closer to the kind of situation which existed:

> Traditional African economies included both elements of individualistic economic organization with peasant farmers mainly engaged in fending for themselves on their own plots, and socialistic or collectivist elements in the form of tribal rights over the land, cooperative labour, and informal sharing of the produce of the land in the tradition of African hospitality.[30]

But the current practice tends towards building uniform Ujamaa villages. No doubt more reluctance to join Ujamaa villages will be encountered. Moreover, it has been noted that these Ujamaa villages are to be enlarged so as to extend membership to persons unrelated by kinship. It does not take much reasoning to realize that if success is to be forthcoming the villagers need to be, first, thoroughly informed. They need long and patient education in order to understand and see all the implications involved. Not only do people need ample time to go through the educational process of the Community Development type, but also the villages themselves need ample flexibility in order to incorporate the diversity of traditional Ujamaa living of the more than one hundred ethnic groupings. Trying to force or manipulate people into villages with a centrally planned structure will only result in mass frustration for millions of Tanzanians, which will be a negation of the concept 'development' itself. Nyerere himself has stated that the purpose of development is man, ". . . in a Tanzania which is implementing the Arusha Declaration, the purpose of all social, economic and political activity must be man--the citizens and all the citizens of this country."[31]

The second source of difficulties in carrying out the policy of Ujamaa villages is the change Tanzanians have undergone during the colonial administration. Although the colonialists did not create true African capitalists in practice, they succeeded in creating a capitalistic attitude of mind, to use Nyerere's words. No doubt Tanzanians people envied the individual riches of European colonialists and Asian businessmen and looked for a day when they, too, could acquire this individual wealth. Those dreams, reinforced by the individualistic aspects of their traditions, almost came true with the achievement of independence. Many Africans were allowed to do numerous economic activities they were prevented in colonial days and what is more, with higher education and Africanization programmes, a good number of them were able to secure good jobs and higher remunerations. This capitalistic attitude cannot disappear in a day or two. It needs enough time-lag to work itself out with the help of non-manipulative education.

Certain officials, both TANU and government, are currently frustrating the educational process regarding the policy of Ujamaa villages. The writer has worked for years in various districts and regions of Tanzania and has therefore, some knowledge of their inadequacies. As already noted, much research and education are needed before genuine Ujamaa villages can be established. However, most top officials in the districts and regions--particularly Area and Regional Commissioners--are trying to build them as fast as possible. The motive behind this haste, which denies the conducting of adequate research and the giving of genuine education to the masses, is to please higher authorities in the Dar es Salaam. Every Regional Commissioner is almost over enthusiastic about higher figures of Ujamaa villages formed in his region. With these figures he hopes to impress his superiors in Dar es Salaam that he is hardworking. Field staff in the districts are hard-pressed to produce these figures. Sometimes the Area and Regional Commissioners themselves go into rural villages trying to persuade, in fact manipulate or force, people to join these villages.

The result is that many villages forced under pressure tend to be economically unproductive. Ujamaa villages have often been formed by people who have no land and wish to obtain some from some present owners who are not members yet. In fact such people are not genuine members of Ujamaa villages, they are opportunists. Yet Area and Regional Commissioners grant such people massive financial and material aid. Notes Colins:

> . . . some of the . . . Ujamaa villages which might have been the framework for involving the peasantry in the planning and implementation of their own development, had been hastily imposed from above by politicians eager to hit the national headlines.[32]

The other important impediment to successful implementation of this policy lies in the lack of experience and ability of the local staff working at the regional, district and village levels, both TANU and government. These workers seem to fail to understand the fears and anxieties of the villagers vis-a-vis joining Ujamaa villages. The chief strategy of trying to get people to establish Ujamaa villages has consisted in addressing large public rallies. The other method, employed by organizers at the national level, has been radio exhortation. The newspapers are also used. But all these methods are incapable of answering all fears of the villager. Besides, all of these methods are one-way channels of communication. The use of Community Development workers seems to achieve better results and, in fact, CD personnel have been very instrumental in the initial stages when their Department or Division was autonomous. As previously noted under Decentralization Programme, CD has been somewhat weakened by lack of or adequate leadership at the national, regional and district levels. These inadequacies in approach coupled with the politicians' manipulative or coercive methods seem to confuse rather than enlighten the villagers. Meanwhile, it is important to remember that the rural villagers have genuine fears which need clarification, a job very badly done so far. These fears include the following:

(1) Fear of loss of personal property: The people would like to know what will happen to their personal property such as herds of cattle, permanent crops, cars, implements and others, once they join Ujamaa villages. Will these things be made the property of the Ujamaa villages or will they remain in personal possession? Few officials--TANU and government--have given adequate thought or answers to them. Also national guidance on these matters seems to be sketchy if not lacking.

(2) The psychological anxiety of living with new people: As noted, already, the envisaged Ujamaa villages will not observe kinship relations. There is, therefore, a genuine anxiety regarding the idea of having to live with people who are completely or only remotely familiar. And who does not?

(3) The psychological fear of leaving a familiar environment: In areas where land is scarce or even plentiful, some people will be advised to move away from familiar areas and establish villages in new ones. Some of the people so advised are middle-aged or very old with strong psychological attachment to their familiar environments. They will, therefore be genuinely reluctant to move out even if they see the

advantages of Ujamaa villages especially in these initial days when politicians pour financial and material assistance to Ujamaa villages almost indiscriminately.

(4) Fear of change in established or traditional ties: One new aspect in the life of modern Ujamaa villages is that every adult will be treated equally regardless of sex and age. For example, a man as a person is a member of an Ujamaa village. So are his wife, son and daughter. Each of these will receive a remuneration from the proceeds of the village economic activities according to his or her contribution. This arrangement may be desirable in terms of equality. But, no doubt this equality significantly changes the relations between husbands and wives and parents and children. Moreover, it is unusual for divorced couples in most African societies to live together. But since both the husband and the wife are members of this village as individuals, they will have to continue to live in this village even if divorced. A further area of anxiety concerns the receipt of bride-wealth from marrying daughters. Who will be recipient--the village or the parents?

(5) Fear of living a regimented life: Advocates of Ujamaa living contend that one advantage of living together is that members pool their resources and work according to an agreed-upon discipline. This means that village life will be more or less regimented. In fact the villages in existence have elected chairmen, secretaries, treasurers and so on. Work to be done is allocated on a daily, weekly

or a monthly basis. Many people find this kind of life lacking personal freedom and is unnecessarily formal. Moreover, an incessant stream of government officials, at least in these initial days, visit them and examine, supposedly to advise them, every aspect of their public and private life.

There are, in fact, many more problems that could be listed. These need the understanding of all change-agents. To understand them research is required. And convincing people to live in these villages requires more education and articulation of the problems involved. Little, if any, attention has been paid to those problems by policy implementers. All of them seem to stress the advantages of Ujamaa living. Little or no similar attention is paid with regard to the other side of the coin--the problems which Ujamaa living creates for the member. Next the writer will turn to the examination of the policy of Self-reliance.

(b) The Policy of Self-Reliance

Apart from the policy of Ujamaa (Socialism), the Arusha Declaration emphasizes self-reliance "Now we want a revolution--a revolution which brings to an end our weakness, so that we are never again exploited, oppressed, or humiliated."[33]

The document in fact asks the people of Tanzania to work harder using their surplus resource, labour. This is in addition to the call 'Uhuru na Kazi' (freedom and work) which was noted earlier. This slogan has been intensified since Tanzania achieved independence. The spirit of self-reliance is becoming one of the most developed tenets of Tanzanian life. It is one of those features which distinguishes Tanzania from most other independent African states. The notion of self-reliance has long been stressed by political and civil servants, notably in Community Development Division. The undertaking of self-help projects, already noted, is reminiscent of this spirit. But its theoretical refinement was not achieved until 1967 when the Arusha Declaration was published. The spirit of self-reliance, if sustained, may make it possible for Tanzania to greatly mobilize its human and other resources with far-reaching consequences in the development of the country.

(i) The Imperatives of Self-reliance

Tanzania has severely criticized its own First Five Year Plan for Economic and Social Development (1964/1969) because of its dependence on foreign aid. It should be noted here, however, that Tanzania does not reject foreign aid per se, otherwise the writer of this paper who is a Canadian Commonwealth Scholar would not be here. Tanzania attempts to avoid all foreign aid which appears to endanger its political independence and which reduces its people to a state of beggars. According to Tanzania, development must also mean an ever-increasing capacity for its people to manage their own change. Thus Nyerere elaborates:

> Even if there was a nation, or nations, prepared to give us all the money we need for our development, it would be improper for us to accept such assistance without asking ourselves how

> this would affect our independence and our very survival as a nation. Gifts which increase, or act as a catalyst, to our own efforts are valuable. But gifts which could have the effect of weakening or distorting our own efforts should not be accepted until we have asked ourselves a number of questions.[34]

Moreover foreign aid is limited in its availability. Thus local resources ought to be utilized to their optimum level. It would appear desirable that aid be utilized to supplement local efforts rather than as the sole basis for all desirable economic and social changes.

(ii) Implementing the Policy of Self-reliance

At the macro level, the government of Tanzania has taken steps to indigenize the economy by controlling a number of essential means of production, economic institutions and services. It has also established a nucleus of basic industries which appear to be doing fairly well.[35] The government, through its parastatal organizations like the National Development Corporation (NDC--responsible for promoting Tanzania's industrial complex), the National Trading Companies and the National Agricultural and Food Corporation (managing agricultural farms and ranches), is participating more and more in the economic life of the country, ranging from agricultural to industrial and tourist ventures. To obtain adequate funds for development, taxes have been increased, particularly among Tanzanians in the higher income bracket. Workers in offices and factories have been requested to work harder and for longer hours. Through participation in the established workers' committees, they are encouraged to involve themselves in management functions, until very recently the prerogative of top officials. This is one way of changing the workers' attitudes towards public institutions and organizations so that they view them as their own institutions and organizations. In general, workers in all economic organizations and in the service institutions are encouraged to be realistic in their demands for higher wages--to regard all government endeavours as essentially building the groundwork of a self-reliant Tanzania. One purpose of 'Mwongozo' (TANU guidelines) is to create a responsible workers' attitude towards the country's institutions and to achieve industrial democracy. Notes Nyerere:

> We have gradually realized that public ownership of enterprises is not enough. These enterprises may be--and in most cases in Tanzania have been--managed well, and with the interests of the Tanzanian people. But they are still being managed for the people . . . . Consequently, the people who are not in management positions in the public corporations still do not feel that these corporations are theirs . . . . It was with these things in mind that the TANU Guidelines were drawn up in February, 1971 . . . . The TANU Guidelines call for an understanding, both by management and the people at large, of the real meaning of socialist and democratic activities.[36]

Since the TANU Guidelines came into existence workers in a number of organizations have successfully removed top management officials who were supposedly behaving contrary to the Guidelines.

At the local level numerous self-help projects have been undertaken. It has also been noted that TANU has stressed from the beginning of independence the slogan 'Uhuru na Kazi'. The writer has also described the role of Community Development Committees although its efforts have been somewhat frustrated lately. Mass meetings, the press and the radio and political and school choirs have done a great deal in popularizing the concepts and slogans like Kujitegemea (Self-reliance) and Usiwe

Kupe Jitegemee (Stop being a parasite, be self-reliant). Today there is no corner of Tanzania where these terms are not heard, although they are not necessarily well understood.

However, while it is relatively easy to popularize these concepts or to make people aware of them, it is quite difficult to come out with concrete courses of action out of them. For, as it was noted in the case of Ujamaa Villages, people are not going to be self-reliant merely by knowing or chanting these slogans. Concrete and specific courses of action must be demonstrated. This means a lot of things on the part of the change agents. It requires knowing the masses--their attitudes, likes, dislikes, strengths or potentialities as well as their weaknesses. It involves knowing family sizes and the amount of mobilizable labour, family levels of financial and material well-being, and their expressed and latent needs. This ability is in addition to normal professional competence--knowledge of fertilizers and insecticides, soils, weather, seeds, storage facilities, and so on. Even this is not enough. Ability to communicate with and advise individuals, leaders and groups is also essential. A coordinated planning may be necessary. For example, the agricultural officer persuades farmers to grow cotton and apply fertilizers and insecticides. The latter two are ordered by the trading companies and distributed by the cooperative union. The farmer, the agricultural officer, the trading companies and the cooperative union must coordinate their tasks. Further, additional transport facilities may be needed while it may be necessary to ensure that feeder roads and bridges are in good working order. Unless these things are done, the farmer is unlikely to plan realistically which means that the advocated self-reliance cannot be achieved.

It is not being advocated here that field change agents must visit every individual to inform him of the various things and alternatives he needs to do in order to be a self-reliant farmer. But the villagers have their Village Development Committees. Leaders of these committees are in a better position to contact farmers. They should, therefore, be well informed about these things. Better still, groups of farmers, youths, women, cooperative organizers and even literacy groups can be contacted or formed for the purpose of increasing communication with change agents. Every efficient and effective method of increasing contact between change agents and the masses must be sought and utilized. At the moment, even the central community leadership, the Ward Development Committee, is not being used to the fullest advantage. Communication between the masses, preferably through strategic community groups, and the technicians and the higher authorities in general must be maintained continuously if our rural people are to be kept up-to-date. As a result of his stay in Canada, the writer has seen massive information being given to farmers by agricultural extension department through various communication media. Ironically, developing countries like Tanzania with less sophisticated farmers are receiving less useful information and contact from the technical personnel and the regional administration in general.

It could be argued that one way of operationalizing the notion of 'Self-reliance' is by establishing Ujamaa villages. Here the farmers will pool their resources, subject themselves to work discipline and undertake various economic activities. But as noted above the problems confronting these villages at the present time. The problem of making the notions of Self-reliance and Ujamaa villages operational also confronts the idea of 'Education for Self-reliance'[37] which aims at inculcating the value of work among students.

(c) The Policy of Rural Development

One dominant feature of Tanzania's development efforts is its emphasis on rural development. When the colonial administration of Tanganyika was examined it was noted that one of its inadequacies in effecting genuine change for the indigenous people was its lack of concern for the majority of the citizens in the country. Since the majority of the Tanganyikans lived and continue to live in the rural areas, this inadequacy meant the neglect of peasants. All essential services--roads, railways, water supply, schools, hospitals, better houses and commercial establishments--were concentrated in the urban settings. And here they served primarily, the whites (administrators and settlers) and the Asian immigrants as Nyerere reveals:

> The vast majority of the farmers of Tanganyika were, in fact just subsistence producers, or were selling the very minimum of their low output in order to pay taxes . . . . Hidden within this picture of a small and hardly growing economy there was also a major social problem for the entire political, economic and social structure of the country based on racial divisions.[38]

Thus, the policy of rural development is intended not only to improve the conditions of the majority of Tanzanians who live in the rural areas but also to correct the imbalance, in the social services provided, between the rural and the urban settings.

Implementing the Policy of Rural Development

The concern with rural development, in fact, began as soon as Tanzania achieved independence. Early in this chapter the modification of the colonial administration structure in the regions was discussed. The appointment of Regional and Area Commissioners was, in a way, a form of strengthening regional administration and therefore rural development.

Regional administration was further strengthened by the establishment of Development Committees which have already been discussed. The chief task of Regional and District Development Committees was to encourage, coordinate, and implement village plans.

The renovation and reorientation of the Social Development Department into a Community Development Division was another step in Tanzania's commitment to rural development. The activities of this division were briefly discussed. It was in fact the principal organizer of these development committees and did a great deal in initiating, aiding and coordinating self-help and other community-oriented activities. Known as Bwana or Bibi Maendeleo (Male or Female CD workers), the Community Development Assistant (the local-level CD workers) has been a familiar and influential government official in rural communities. In fact, until 1972, the Community Development Division, together with the now defunct District Councils, was known as the Division of Rural

Development. This was meant to emphasize the importance of these divisions in the promotion of rural development.

A reference was made, early in this chapter, to a fund called the Regional Development Fund. This fund was intended primarily for directly productive projects at the local level in the country's regions. Jones traces the origin of the RDF:

> The Regional Development Fund (RDF) was set up in November 1970, following a decision at a TANU National Executive Committee in Mwanza in the preceding October.[39]

And the Second Five Year Development Plan (1969/1974) has this to add:

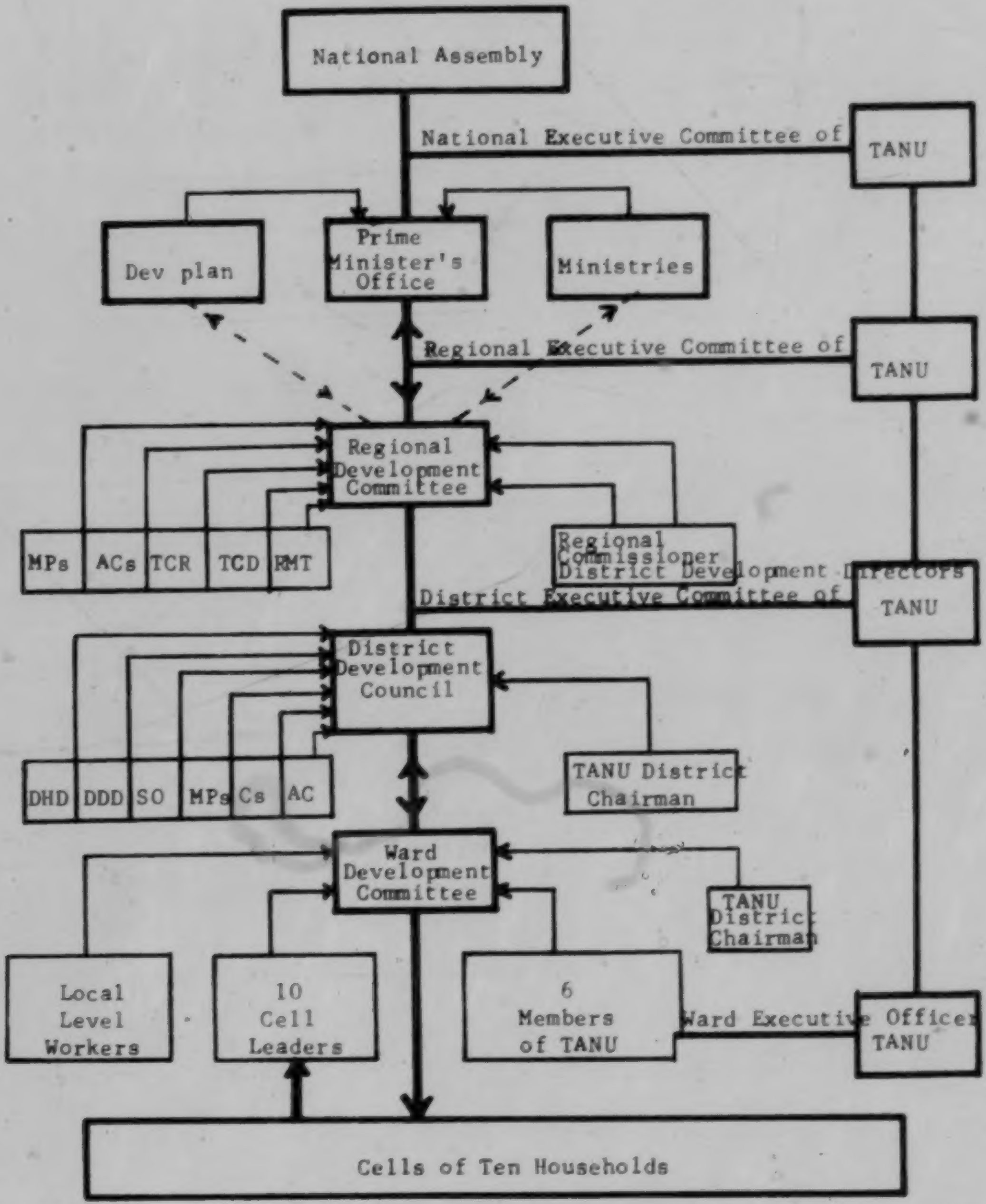
> To supplement further the Self-help effort of the rural communities, the Regional Development Fund has been established for allocation to Regional, District and Village Projects . . . . The fund can be used only for productive projects and its use is aimed at meeting immediate local needs.[40]

The decision to allocate this fund to regions was a significant step in implementing rural development. The allocations for the period 1968-1972 have been shillings 10 million (1968), 20 million (1969), 20 million (1970), 20 million (1971), and 30 million (1972).

It was noted when discussing the problems of Development Committees that the handling of these allocations in the past has not been satisfactory, principally because the Regional Development Committees attempted to ursurp the discretion of districts and villages regarding its use. This misuse of the Fund may be rectified with the decentralization of administrative and financial powers to the regions. However, it seems that one inadequacy will persist. This is the tendency since

1968 to use the RDF to support Ujamaa Villages. Since the majority of Tanzanians do not live in Ujamaa villages, this decision tends to deny the majority non-members a legitimate support. (By August 1973 there were over 5,500 Ujamaa Villages with 15% of the country's population of 13.6 million living in them).[41] At any rate Ujamaa Villages have not so far demonstrated that they are more productive than ordinary villages. Nor is it certain that they will do so in the future. The RDF as noted above was intended to support activities or projects of an economic nature undertaken in the rural areas by the people, local government or the central government. To qualify for this support the rural people were required to engage in cooperative or Ujamaa activities. Ujamaa Villages are in a way cooperative organizations but they are also a way of life, a communal life where work and proceeds from work are shared. There are Ujamaa Villages of varying maturity in all the regions of Tanzania but they are still very few compared to ordinary villages (that is, villages where work and the sharing of proceeds are not totally or largely communal). The regions with relatively larger numbers of Ujamaa Villages are Mtwara and Songea in the south, Dodoma in central Tanzania, and Mara in the north-east of the country. Nyerere and TANU in general are enthusiastically encouraging the formation of Ujamaa Villages throughout Tanzania. Because Nyerere and TANU are so enthusiastic about Ujamaa Villages, the Regional and Area Commissioners together with other heads of departments in the regions and districts are trying to use all the RDF for promoting Ujamaa Villages. But the RDF was never intended

Figure 3. Post-decentralization Structure of Planning From Cells to the National Level, Tanzania, June, 1972


National Assembly
National Executive Committee of
TANU
Dev plan
Prime Minister's Office
Ministries
Regional Executive Committee of
TANU
Regional Development Committee
MPs
ACs
TCR
TCD
RMT
Regional Commissioner
District Development Directors
District Executive Committee of
TANU
District Development Council
DHD
DDD
SO
MPs
Cs
AC
TANU District Chairman
Ward Development Committee
TANU District Chairman
Local Level Workers
10 Cell Leaders
6 Members of TANU
Ward Executive Officer
TANU
Cells of Ten Households

Reference:

DHD = District Heads of Departments
ACs = Area Commissioners
MPs = Members of Parliament
TCR = Regional TANU Chairmen

SO = Staff Officers
TCD = District TANU Chairmen
RMT = Regional Management Team (See Fig. 4)
Cs = Councillors

Source: Constructed from the author's experience as a Plannin Officer (June 1972 - August 1973) in Mwanza Region.

to be used solely for this purpose.

A mention should also be made of Tanzania's attempts to solve regional imbalances in development, a situation principally inherited from colonial administration. Development funds are being allocated to the various regions, also, on the basis of backwardness so that the more disadvantaged the region is the more funds and attention it receives. The Second Five-Year Plan emphasizes:

> Tanzania is a big country with diverse natural resources. For various historical reasons the development of economic potential has been regionally unbalanced. During the Second Plan the government will strive to redress the regional imbalance by promoting an economically effective regional division of the past and by so doing taps unutilized human and natural resources.[42]

The problem of regional imbalance is to be combated in all sectors of development--education, agriculture, communication, health, animal husbandry, water development and power, et cetera. This pursuit will continue under the decentralization programme.

Decentralization

Decentralization represents one of the boldest steps taken by the Tanzanian government to confront rural problems. The regions (the country is divided into 17 regions and over 60 districts and hundreds of wards) are the organs charged with the major task of implementing the policy of Rural Development.

The problems confronting the pre-Decentralization regional structure were elaborated under 'Problems of Development Committees'. The way these problems are tackled under this arrangement is given in in the following paragraphs:

(a) The New Administrative Structure and the Committees

The Decentralization Programme in Tanzania involves the giving up of some planning and administrative powers by the ministries to the regions. In addition to that, a Prime Minister's* Office has been established in Dar es Salaam to coordinate all regional plans. In the discussion of the problems of Development Committees in the foregoing it was noted that one of the chief impediments to regional and district autonomy consisted in the fact that coordination of the various departments by Administrative and Area Secretaries was partial (see Figure 2). Under this structure the various departmental heads were responsible to their superiors in Dar es Salaam. This obstacle has been done away with. The Prime Minister's Office (see Figure 3) now coordinates regional plans as entities. The Ministry of Economic Affairs and Development Planning (Devplan), the various development ministries and the regional representatives meet under the Chairmanship of the Prime Minister's Office (PMO) to review regional plans, principally to thrash out inconsistencies and duplications. After this, regional plans receive their funds as approved by the National Assembly.

Financially, then, the region has the same status as a ministry--submitting its development and recurrent expenditures for projects and services to the National Assembly directly (although the PMO checks the projects consistency with policies and ensures that financial ceilings are adhered to). Once the financial resources have been voted by the National Assembly the region is free to utilize them without interference by ministries. The ability to control their own financial resources enables the regions to implement their programmes according to district, and ward plans.

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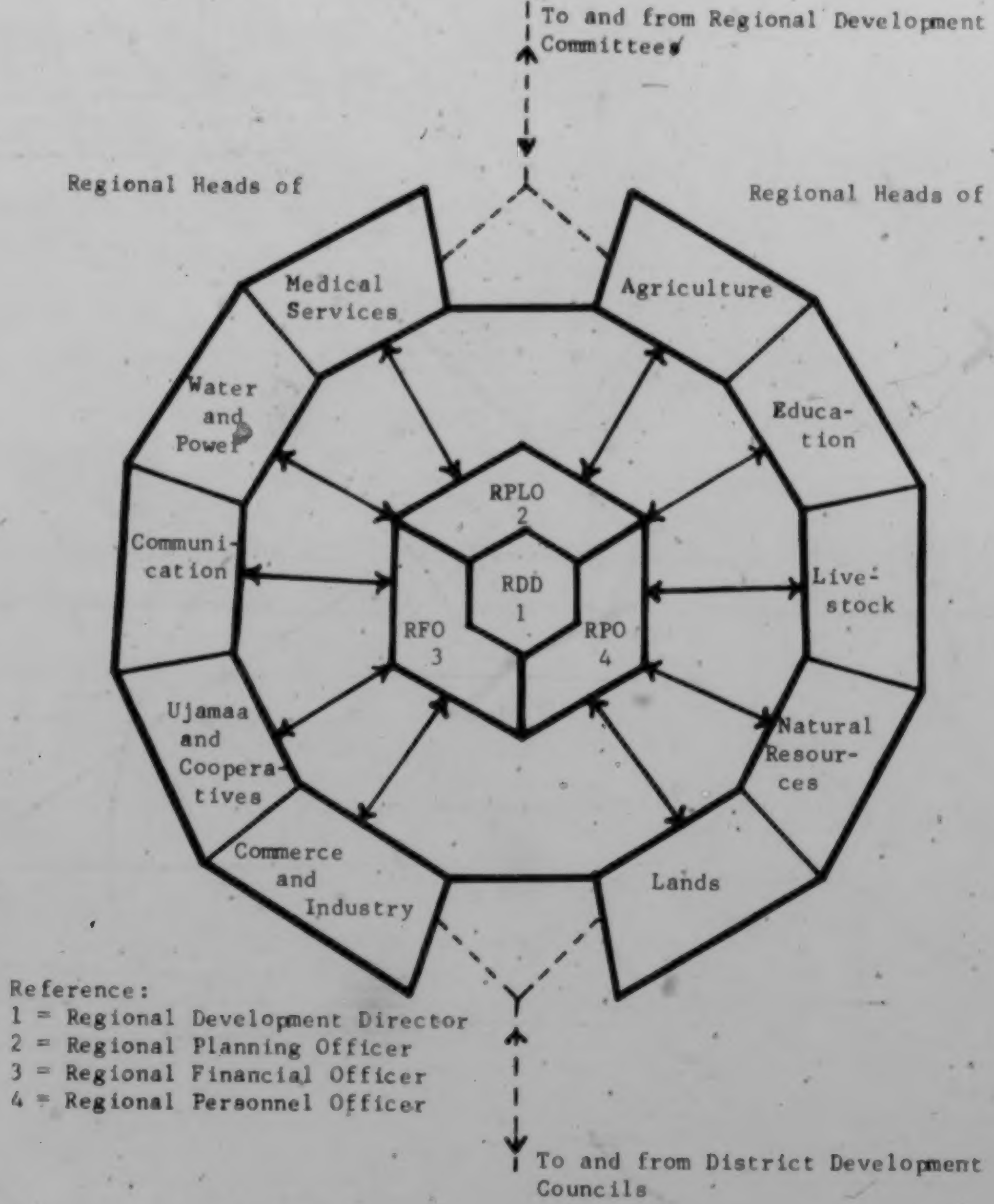
*There was a Prime Minister's Office in 1961 to 1962. After adopting a republican constitution, Tanzania abolished this title until 1972. But the Prime Ministers of these two eras are different. For instance, the Prime Minister today is subordinate to the country's President.

The divided departmental loyalty at the regional and district levels is also now gone (see Figure 3). Under the old system all regional and district heads of departments were responsible to their ministerial superiors in Dar es Salaam (see Figure 2). Now they are all (except non-developmental departments like the Police, Judiciary and the Army), are responsible to the Regional Development Director (RDD)(See Figure 4). Unlike the former Administrative and Area Secretaries, the RDD coordinates, supervises, and directs all the activities of departmental heads in his regions. At the district level, the District Development Director (DDD) accomplishes the same function. The RDD and the DDD are the accounting and subaccounting officers in the region and the district respectively. But since funds are voted to the region and not the district the RDD is the most powerful civil servant in the region. In addition to supervising the activities of his regional departmental heads, he also supervises those of DDDs. In fact the RDDs are said to be the counterparts of Principal Secretaries (permanent secretaries in other countries) of the ministries. In this case, they advise Regional Commissioners in place of Ministers.

Figure 4. Post-decentralization: Composition of the Regional Management Team, June, 1972.


To and from Regional Development Committees
Regional Heads of
Regional Heads of
Medical Services
Agriculture
Water and Power
Education
Communication
Livestock
Ujamaa and Cooperatives
Natural Resources
Commerce and Industry
Lands
RPLO 2
RDD 1
RFO 3
RPO 4
Reference:
1 = Regional Development Director
2 = Regional Planning Officer
3 = Regional Financial Officer
4 = Regional Personnel Officer
To and from District Development Councils

Source: Constructed from the author's experience as a Planning Officer in the country.

The RDD supervises the other departmental heads, through three important sections of his office--the Regional Planning Office, the Regional Financial Office, and the Regional Personnel Office, headed by the Regional Planning Officer the Regional Financial Controller, and the Regional Personnel Officer respectively. The writer spent a year assisting the Regional Planning Officer (March 1972 to August 1973) in Mwanza. The same structure obtains at the district level with the DDD advising the Area Commissioner.

The Regional Development Committee (RDC) consists of:

RC	Chairman
RDD	Secretary
Regional heads of departments (including the three officers--Staff Officers--assisting the RDD)	members
All DDDs in the region	members
All District Chairmen of TANU	members
All Area Commissioners	members
All members of Parliament in the region	members

This Committee meets once a month. The regional heads of departments are known as Functional Officers. It should be noted that the RDC is not a representative body of the people. It is mainly a government body. There are, however, a few elected members, the MPs, Regional TANU Chairman and the District TANU Chairman are elected by the people.

The RDC approves plans from the districts. A coordinated regional plan goes to the PMO, as noted above, for consolidation into national plan and for approval and funds allocation by the National Assembly.

The ministries affected by the Decentralization Programme in Dar es Salaam do have and can have as much contact with their regional and district counterparts as they like. But this contact is informal. For all other purposes regional heads and their ministerial heads in Dar es Salaam can contact each other through the RDDs. For instance there are no individual departmental plans in the regions but one consolidated regional plan submitted to the PMO by the RDD. In other words, although requests and plans can be originated by the regional heads of departments these must reach the ministries through the RDD. Also regional departmental heads do not write reports direct to their heads in Dar es Salaam. They write them to the RDD with copies to the parent ministries. Another way the ministries in Dar es Salaam contribute to regional programmes is through advising the PMO. This is the office which governs regional administration. As for specific programmes there is a clear demarcation between what the regions can do and what the ministries can do. The ministries are responsible for projects which are national projects while the regions make and implement plans which are of a local nature.

The district has two organs--the District Development Council (DDC) and the District Development and Planning Committee (DD & PC). The latter is a subcommittee of the DDC. It prepares the material for discussion by the DDC and ensures implementation of decisions. The DDC consists of:

TANU District Chairman	Chairman
Area Commissioner	member
DDD	Secretary
All elected Councillors	members
All MPs in the district	members
All district heads of departments (including staff officers)	Ex-Officio members

The DD & PC consists of the following:

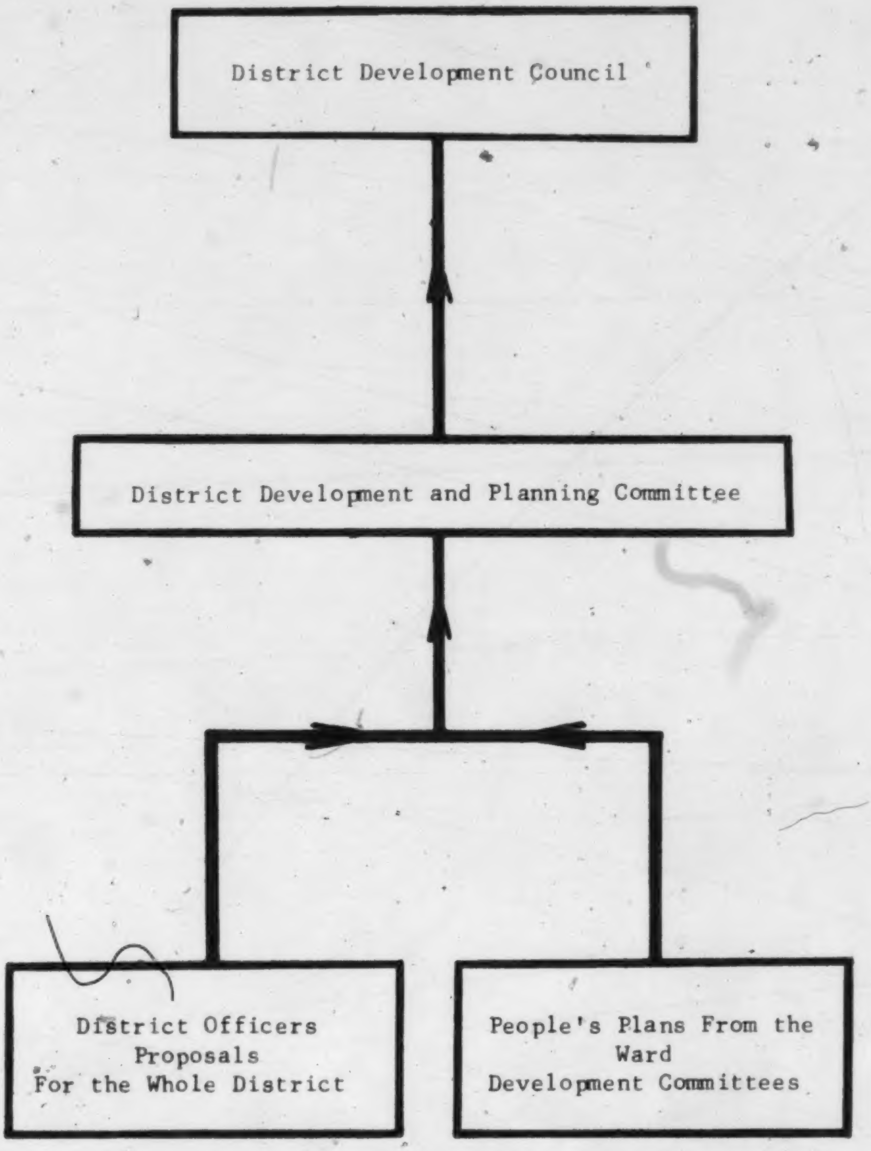
Area Commissioner	Chairman
DDD	Secretary
TANU Chairman	member
Staff Officers and Heads of Departments	Ex-Officio members
One quarter of the councillors or ten of them whichever is the greatest number .	members

The DDC is a more representative body of the people than the RDC--the councillors, MPs, and TANU Chairman are all elected by the people. It receives plans from the villages, consolidating them into a district plan which is forwarded to the RDC. Figure 5 shows the composition of planning inputs dealt with by the DDC. They come from District Officers and the people through their WDCs.

Below the DDC is the Ward Development Committee (formerly Village Development Committee) (See Figures 2 and 3). The Ward Development Committee's composition is as follows:

TANU Branch Chairman	Chairman
The Ward Executive Officer	Secretary

Figure 5. The Post-decentralization Structure of Planning Inputs to the District Level, Tanzania, June, 1972


District Development Council
District Development and Planning Committee
District Officers Proposals For the Whole District
People's Plans From the Ward Development Committees

Source: Constructed from the author's experience as a Community Development Officer and a Planning Officer in the country.

Divisional Secretary and Field Civil Servants	Ex-Officio members
Ten Cell Leaders	members

This committee discusses problems and needs of the ward. Plans are submitted to the DDC for approval and consolidation into the district plan.

This new arrangement, Decentralization, is meant to increase local participation as Nyerere's statement below reveals:

> Our nation is too large for the people at the centre in Dar es Salaam always to understand local problems or sense their urgency. When all power remains at the centre, therefore, local problems can remain and fester, while local people who are aware of them are prevented from using their initiative in finding solutions. Similarly, it is sometimes difficult for local people to respond with enthusiasm to a call for development work which may be to their benefit but which has been decided upon and planned by authority hundreds of miles away . . . heavy responsibility will lie on the District Staff in the preparation of future development plans. But just as important is that they will be given full responsibility for the implementation of their approved part of their Plan, and for ensuring active local participation in all development programs.[43]

The main them, then, is rural development through full involvement of the local people. This means the participation of Ward Development Committees which consist of elected members of the wards. These members are elected among the cell leaders. All wards and towns in Tanzania are divided into cells of ten households each headed by a cell leader. And one more thing should be noted. The Ward Development Committees are geographically larger than the former Village Development Committees.

The full participation of the local people is, of course, dependent upon whether officials at the district and the regional levels genuinely seek and allow inputs from the WDCs to influence district planning. This will in turn depend on the general orientation of the DDDs, RDDs and other functional officers. It also depends on how much the field staff of the various departments are being encouraged to enlighten WDCs, groups and individuals so that these in turn make worthwhile contributions to local planning. The new structure has introduced new checks to ensure that all plans in fact take into account people's problems and needs. This is achieved at least theoretically, by the requirement that district plans go through the TANU District Executive Committee (DEC) (See Figure 3). The DEC checks final DDC proposals before they reach the RDC. The DEC is not expected to make a detailed review of the district plan proposals. Its main function is to make an overall appraisal of the proposals to ensure they adequately cover local needs in conformity with the TANU's policy. This is clear from Nyerere's statement:

> . . . the Party District Executive Committee will consider the policies being implemented by the proposed Plan, not the detailed projects . . . the decentralization proposals will provide a new opportunity for local leadership . . . TANU branches . . . should make themselves the active arm of the people . . . .[44]

At the regional level the TANU Regional Executive Committee (REC) (See Figure 3) fulfills the same functions as the DEC for regional plan proposals, while the TANU National Executive Committee (NEC) has been doing these functions for a long time now with regard to national plans.

With the implementation of the Decentralization Programme local government as hitherto represented by District Councils (noted in the foregoing), Town Councils, and the City Council of Dar es Salaam, came to an end. Local government in Tanzania has had a poor record as an institution for furthering local development. While the District Councils as organs of local government have been abolished, the councillors have been retained to augment people's representation in the DDC. It is the presence of these councillors together with the MPs and the District Chairman of TANU (also elected by the people) which makes the DDC a more representative body of the people than the RDC. The district is also better placed to implement the people's plans than the RDC. It is the district which is closer to the people. It controls the local level workers through its functional departments, and the funds controlled by the RDD are eventually utilized through the districts. It is for these reasons that Nyerere (see quotation 43) stresses that ". . . heavy responsibility will lie on the District Staff" in the preparation and implementation of these plans.

(b) Problems of the New Arrangement

It is still too early to assess the working of this new arrangement (Decentralization). Only ad hoc comments can be made. The districts and regions have already prepared comprehensive plans for the first time--the 1973/74 annual plans.[45] When Decentralization was being inaugurated, it was stated that the regions would be responsible for development and recurrent expenditure amounting to 40% of the national budget.[46] For the period 1972-73 when the writer served as a planning officer in the RDD's office Mwanza Region, the said 40% figure was not achieved. However, the 1973-74 annual plan indicates the regions will altogether spend 70% of this budget.[47]

A survey of the presidential appointments of RDDs, DDDs and their staff officers, that is, the Regional (District) Planning, Personnel, and Financial Officers, shows that they are well qualified persons. This is particularly true of the regional personnel. Some of these are experienced people in their own fields--agriculture, veterinary medicine, education, forestry, fisheries, and so on. Most of them are technicians. It is doubtful, however, that their ability to mobilize grass-roots effort was taken into account. The writer's observation revealed that most of them were anxious to plan for physical results--so many feeder roads, acres of cotton to be cultivated, power plants to be installed, and so on. Mobilization of the local units was only mentioned in passing. In fact, the proposals submitted to the Prime Minister's Office only contained figures. Further, at least in the region where the writer worked, district staff only went to the villages when they needed data to fill in their plans. This involved spending a day or two with WDC members and those of Ujamaa Villages, committing them to preconceived targets. Planning inputs at the district level did not originate in the manner shown by Figure 5 (people's plans were almost absent). The annual plan, for 1973-74, does not indicate how people's inputs will be encouraged or developed.

One way by which one can tell whether regional administration is committed to local participation is the way its field staff are prepared and utilized. At least for the period the writer worked in Mwanza Region, local-level workers--those working with the masses--were only partially briefed on the implications of the Decentralization Programme. While the RDDs, DDDs, and their Staff Officers had attended the orientation courses at Kivukoni College near Dar es Salaam prior to their posting, and while they in turn briefed their functional officers, the same orientation has not been undertaken for the local-level workers. In fact local-level workers' knowledge of the programme was no more or better than the information disseminated by newspapers and Radio Tanzania. Yet the training of local groups depends on these field staff. They work with the local people and they live with them. They carry out the supervision of local activities. They are, therefore, in a better position than their regional and district counterparts to influence development policy and to understand local problems. And after all, what is the use of employing field staff whose services cannot be utilized?

As noted above, district and even regional planning personnel and financial officers visit rural areas, occasionally, to gather urgently needed information in a few hours or days. This should not need to be done if the structure has field workers (CD workers, extension workers, health officers, etc.)--and Nyerere notes in his 'Tanzania Ten Years After Independence'[48] statement that whereas there were only three agricultural training institutes in 1961, there had been added to these four others for training field assistants, seventeen farmers training courses, one agricultural faculty at the University of Dar es Salaam and several centres for specialized agricultural training.

This means that more field staff are now available to conduct rural animation (motivation). The seventeen farmers training centres which Nyerere mentions are in fact now multipurpose training centres for improving rural leadership. As far as the writer knows, these centres lay dormant in 1972-73, at least in the region he served. This also serves to indicate how lightly RDDs and DDDs take the question of local animation.

This apparent lack of concern for genuine local animation by the most responsible and powerful officials in the new structure seems to be partly due to professional or academic inadequacy in participatory skills. Although the main theme in Decentralization is clearly people's involvement, these officials seem to be incapable of translating it into action. Contrary to the intended policy, they end up doing all the planning themselves, involving the rural units only peripherally. Their other problem seems to be the desire to produce tangible results. Rural animation appears to them to retard the production of visible results. This, however, is a short-sighted approach. It is a well known fact that the peasants fail to cooperate fully in programmes not of their making. In fact, in the region the writer worked, a lot of funds, especially those relating to primary education and rural health programmes, together with those connected with the RDF, were returned to the Treasury unspent at the end of the financial year because the people were not properly mobilized to undertake projects which needed their expenditure.

In sum, the problems of the new arrangement of Decentralization can be put as follows:

(i) The regional and districts heads, particularly the RDDs, DDDs and their staff officers need thorough briefing on the importance of participation of the local people together with the issue of how to attain it. This will make them aware of the need to involve people instead of planning for or manipulating them into pre-conceived ideas.

(ii) The RDDs and DDDs concentrated on physical planning but neglect leadership training. This seems to hamper the development of local skills and ability with which the local people can articulate their problems and make plans.

(iii) The RDDs and DDDs also neglect both the training of local staff and the appreciation of the role these can play in motivating rural people for change. Since these local level workers live and work with the masses, their neglect at the regional and district levels also means neglecting the local people's participation.

(iv) The emphasis by the nation that the rural people themselves should be actively involved in most development programmes concerning them implies that the regional heads must always look for ways of augmenting their participation. This includes improving the local people's diagnostic skills, developing their discussional abilities and their capacity to formulate worthwhile plans and to implement them. It also means doing more than achieving the minimum requirement of creating Ward Development Committees. The fact that RDDs and DDDs neglect even these committees reflects how far they are from understanding local involvement.

(v) At least in the year the writer served as a Planning Officer in Mwanza, no funds were allocated by RDDs and DDDs for research into ways of increasing people's participation at the ward level. It is not for the RDDs and DDDs to choose whether or not to augment people's participation. This is a major policy of the nation emphasized by the very act of launching the Decentralization Programme and the Arusha Declaration. So there is a need for directing more resources to techniques of obtaining local involvement, for implementing such techniques (through training etc.) and for evaluating the extent and effectiveness of such involvement.

(vi) The Division of Community Development has now merged with that of Cooperative Development. Also a number of CD officers have been transferred to strengthen TANU. Others have yet been dispersed to other ministries. This action has left some regions and districts without experienced CD officers. As a result most officers in charge of the merged Division--now known as Ujamaa and Cooperative Division--come from the Department of Cooperative Development. At the national level, the Commissioner of this new Division also comes from the Cooperative Development Division. This merger is unfortunate because the Community Development Division is the most informed Division on local mobilization and participation. Specifically, the problem is that CD leadership at the district, regional and national level is weak without strong persons responsible for its policy and direction. For the Community Development Division to continue playing a worthwhile role it seems necessary to reconsider the recreation of the posts of Commissioner or Director of Community Development, Regional Community Development Officer and District Community Development Officer at the national, regional and district levels respectively.

Conclusion

Building a new and fragile nation is not an easy task. This was even harder for Tanzania which inherited at independence time the most backward state of affairs among the three East African territori namely Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania. Perhaps Tanzania's greatest.develo ment virtue is the honesty and commitment to change for the majority of the population displayed by its national leadership.

Development Efforts

Compared with the seventy years of colonialism, Tanzania has made significant strides although this does not mean that it is no longer faced wih development problems and needs. In fact these have now multiplied many times. But the following efforts are noteworthy:

(i) In the economic and social services areas great endeavours have been made to increase educational opportunities, health services, the means of communication (particularly roads and railways) and industrie to mention only a few.

(ii) The civil service and the Party (TANU) have been streamlined to make them more responsive to local needs and problems.

(iii) The concern now is with development for the majority of Tanzanians and not, unlike the colonial administration, with the minority of lucky tribes, areas or groups of people; and racial discrimination or other forms of discrimination has been abolished. To secure an active participation of man, particularly the rural peasant is today seen, at least at the policy level,,an integral part of Tanzania's development strategy.

(iv) For this reason, development committees (including the WDC) have been established.

(v) To guide development efforts, development policies have been nationally determined (not arbitrarily but deriving from the country's needs and problems) and the regions and districts have been given the responsibility of interpreting them into action but with the active involvement of the local people.

Short-comings

The following problems arise from the foregoing discussion:

(i) More attention is still needed with regard to leadership training at the Ward level, that is the members of the WDC are not sufficiently aware of the implications of the various government policies and plans.

(ii) The regional and district personnel and particularly the RDD and DDDs need to be familiar with the implications of local participation in terms of staffing, financial and material allocation and research requirements.

(iii) There is a need for a continuous briefing or training of local level workers (CD workers and extension workers of the various departments and TANU) in order to make them up-to-date regarding development goals.

(iv) In order to obtain sufficient participation as the national policy requires, regional and district heads, particularly RDDs and DDDs need to encourage local participation not only at the Ward level but also below that level.

(v) The Department of Community Development cannot play its role of involving the local people without a strong leadership at the national, regional and district levels. For this reason a Commissioner, Regional Community Development Officer and District Community Development Officers are needed at the national, regional and district levels respectively. In other words a separate department of Community Development is needed. In the conclusion to Chapter IV further ways of resolving this problem are suggested.

(vi) The discussion of the policies of Ujamaa (Socialism), Self-reliance, and Rural Development has demonstrated that they are difficult or complex issues. In order that the people at the ward level implement them more than chanting the words is needed. Specific courses must be developed by local level workers with the people themselves and new knowledge and skills must be imparted. This definitely needs more local level workers actions that go beyond mere encouragement of the WDC members to attend WDC meetings.

The following chapter looks into the question of organizing strategic ward groups in order to supplement the role of the WDC, to increase the articulation of community needs and problems, to expand the ward's informed exposure to external inputs and to facilitate the interpenetration of the ward's social units and groups.

Footnotes

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CHAPTER IV

INCREASED LOCAL PARTICIPATION THROUGH STRATEGIC COMMUNITY GROUPS

Definitions and Preliminary Remarks

The previous chapter has revealed weaknesses in the present arrangements for involving local people in the development of their areas. One of the main weaknesses occurs at the ward level, in that there is insufficient communication between WDCs and the local people, and insufficient understanding both among the local people and among many members of WDCs of issues relating to local and national development. It is therefore necessary to seek ways of obtaining better communication at ward level and to increase the understanding of important development issues among local people with the view to their being able to act in relation to such issues.

This chapter, therefore, examines the question of improving local units or groups. Communities are made up of human beings--men, women, old people, young people, children, and various community leaders and groups. These individuals, identified by sex, age, or type of social influence they exert, are what are referred to here as community units or components.

It is natural when human beings live together in large numbers, such as they do in a community, to interact with some people more than they do with others. When this thing happens, and it always does, diverse groups of varying size arise. Sanders has this to say:

> In a very real sense, community life is group life. Seldom, however, does a whole community come together in one place to take action or to enjoy some spectacle. Most of the time, the residents associate with each other in numbers totalling only a few people at a time . . . .[1]

Some Conceptions of Groups

Hollander[2] states that the controversy regarding group definition has been a protracted one going back to the time of the 'group mind' tradition at the end of the last century and possibly before that period. According to him:

> Groups may vary in size from two persons to a large political party or major organization. They may be essentially subcultures, or categories, which describe members of a society, or they may involve close face-to-face interaction directed at common goals such as one finds in the family, among playmates, or in a committee.[3]

This definition implies, in fact, a number of different groups. Thus, with regard to groups whose members have a face-to-face relationship, Hollander calls them functional groups. Members of such a group are involved in an ongoing social interaction whose aim is to attain a common goal through interdependent action within an organized pattern of roles and norms known as group structure. Groups which do not entail such an intimate relationship may be called categories and aggregates. A category consists of people who have a common characteristic which can be used to describe them. This may be age, sex, income level, and so on. An aggregate is a special category made up of individuals who share a time-space but they do not have a common goal. This would include for example, people waiting to board a plane or a train or those being lifted by an elevator. These individuals may, however, organize themselves into a temporary group if an emergency took place.

Primary and Secondary Groups

Another way of looking at groups is in terms of the quality of the relationship existing among members. Thus, Cooley (1909)[4] regarded such groups as the family to be primary groups. In the primary group, the members have close personal ties with one another and an emphasis on face-to-face interaction and spontaneous personal behaviour.

Hollander, however, is of the opinion that since this type of closeness can very well grow from other associations besides the family, the qualities of a primary group are incorporated quite substantially within the concept of a functional group. This is illustrated well in the case of a child and his peers, particularly in the teenage period.

A secondary group by contrast, is more impersonal and is characterized by contractual relations of its members. The group is, thus, not an end in itself but rather a means to other ends.

Natural and Formed Groups

There is yet a further way of looking at groups. It consists in conceiving them as natural or formed groups. Wilson and Ryland described the two kinds of groups as follows:

> Whatever the composite of interests which draw people together in groups, the patterns thus formed may be placed in two classifications: (1) natural groups and (2) formed groups. The former grouping occurs when people are . . . drawn together by forces of the environment and mutual attraction; the latter grouping when people are recruited to membership through promotional efforts of individuals or organizations. These basic patterns may further be differentiated by the nature of the responsibility undertaken by the group.[5]

Wilson and Ryland go further to note that some groups are chiefly concerned with their own group life. They are therefore primary groupings--families, gangs, fraternities and the like. And others are principally concerned with affecting the life of yet other groups. These may be called representative groupings (for example, action committees, councils, associations and leagues).

The Nature of Groups in This Study

From the foregoing it will be clear that groups exist in different forms, that is the relations of members in them may be close or minimal; and for different objectives or goals. Thus for some, the group is an end in itself while for others it may exist to facilitate the attainment of certain goals. Again Wilson and Ryland note:

> Individuals organize themselves or are organized into groups for such purposes as (1) protection, (2) education, (3) exploration or adventure, (4) treatment, (5) promotion, (6) advisement,

(7) administration, (8) coordination, (9) integration, (10) planning.[6]

The introduction of this thesis has spelled out already that the potential groups that will be discussed in some detail are those relating to (1) women, (2) youths, (3) literacy classes. They are seen as activity or interest groups engaged in self-improvement and the improvement of the ward as a whole. They recognize the WDC as the overriding authority whose cooperation and approval they must seek in appropriate circumstances. They are not ends in themselves, but a means of augmenting community exposure to external inputs, of articulating local needs and problems, and disseminating information and skills to others. They are referred to as potential groups because they may not be existing as social groups in the sense noted above (that is, as primary or functional groups). It is emphasized here that whatever groups are organized in rural communities, it is important that they are helped to function, at least to some extent, as primary groups. The attainment of this state is important if they are to interact meaningfully as Wilson and Ryland further note:

> Skill in the use of the group process in the primary groups is the first essential in the practice of . . . group work. . . . It is essential that the worker recognize, when engaged with committees, councils, and other community groups, that he uses his basic skill of working with primary groups plus the additional skill which working with these special-purpose groups entail.[7]

In most situations where the group method is used, the purpose is not simply to make resolutions, but also to achieve a qualitative collective experience. This is why even in highly structured meetings such as the international conferences, opportunities are often provided for informal contacts, for example, the breaking of a conference into smaller round-table discussions. This chapter is concerned with developing a participation model. It is suggested that participation will be freer where the group attains some of the characteristics of a primary group. This point is made clear by Wilson and Ryland:

> The success of the formed group is dependent upon whether the type of relationship established within it will develop these characteristics (that is, of the primary group). In other words, the agency or any other outside party may set the stage and collect the people for a group, but only the process of acceptance working among them will actually form a group. The process of group formation, then, takes place if there is sufficient acceptance among the members to set up either an official or an unofficial structure to maintain the programme content.[8]

It is sufficient, for this purpose, that there is a general agreement regarding the group programme content and that members do not differ too much so that they are unable to communicate for most of the life of the group. For the same reason, it is important that the joining of these groups is voluntary. Should a worker find himself in a situation where the group exists but has no characteristics of a primary or functional group, it is his duty to develop at least some of these characteristics. This should not be an impossible task, nor is it unnatural. Most university classes or work groups are not social groups at the beginning. Yet with time members in these aggregates find themselves developing quite close relationships similar to those found in primary or functional groups.

CD workers and other extension workers operating at the local level need to have skills of dealing with people--groups, mass meetings, councils and committees and individuals. Most CD institutions, at least in Tanzania, provide training on dealing with these things. However much depends on the resourcefulness of the worker. On page 154 steps involved in organizing groups are described.

Some Conceptions of a Community

Communities in rural Tanzania are easy to identify if one sees them in terms of villages. Villages in Tanzania and East Africa in general are recognized by geographical boundaries and they can be located by pointing to or naming a particular stream, river or lake, a mountain range or a valley. Each village, normally, has a name. People living in a particular village will be related by ties of kinship or reciprocal helpfulness. The presence of strong personal relationships and hospitality, reliance on relatives' and neighbours' aid during intensive cultivation seasons, and identification with a particular locality, are features which, perhaps, most distinguish rural communities from urban communities in Tanzania and East Africa as a whole. In some densely populated areas like Bukoba in north-western Tanzania, Rungwe in the Southern Highlands and Kilimanjaro in the north, it is difficult for an outsider to tell where one village ends and another starts. The whole area may look like an endless mass of houses intermingled with banana plants or fruit trees.

The Tanzanian communities described above seem to have most of the characteristics noted by Dennis Poplin:

> Today most sociologists use the word community to refer to such units of social and territorial organization as hamlets, villages, towns and metropolitan areas. In brief, the term community refers to the places in which people maintain their homes, earn their living, rear their children, and, in general carry on most of their activities. Thus, Hillery has found that at least three major elements enter into most sociological definitions of community, including (1) geographic area, (2) social interaction, and (3) common tie or ties.[9]

However, the type of Tanzanian rural community being discussed here is not the small traditional village. Tanzania has shifted (organizationally) from the small village to the larger unit, the ward. As far as development committees are concerned, this means a change from the Village Development Committee (VDC) to the Ward Development Committee (WDC). The change was necessitated by the need to eliminate certain inconveniences that were inherent in the VDC. For example, administratively the VDCs, 7500 of them by 1967, proved too many to be dealt with adequately by the district headquarters. Also, certain TANU representatives and officials were based at the ward level while committee was organized at the village level. And the Village Executive Officer, who is the Secretary of the WDC, was based at the ward level. However, the change was also a result of the changed needs and problems of the local communities themselves. When communities undertook minor and traditional activities such as hunting animals harmful to crops, building a house for a widow or building a community cattle pen, one village or part of it were all that was required to accomplish them. But with the achievement of independence, it became necessary to undertake bigger projects such as constructing roads and bridges, schools, dispensaries and health centres. To accomplish these types of tasks it became necessary to enlist the efforts and resources of a wider community, the ward.

But this move is not without costs. The ward is a large community embracing a number of villages. It is therefore much more impersonal than the small village. For this reason one should expect, among other things, members of the WDC who represent villages to be less committed to its deliberations. The ward, being much bigger than the traditional village, is inadequate in representing a substantial portion of its residents' interests. It is therefore inadequate in dealing with all the ward's needs and demands. This is one reason why local level workers must find additional ways of meeting local needs. This study anticipates doing this by improving important or strategic ward groups.

Does Organizing Groups Create Factions?

It would appear appropriate at this juncture to examine whether the use of groups to maximize community response to change creates conflicts between the groups and the WDC and among the groups themselves.

The opinion here is that this need not necessarily happen. In the first place the fear that the proliferation of groups encourages unnecessary segmentation is based on an erroneous assumption that the community is completely homogeneous. Communities in 'simple societies' are particularly the victim of this kind of thinking. In fact, even the individual human being is complex in terms of his behavior and personality. Any good book on social psychology will stress the fact that an individual experiences conflicts within himself and that sometimes these conflicts lead to serious pathological behaviour. Psychoanalytic theory is based on these innate conflicts in man.[10] Any community is a social system and as such it has components which include different social groups. So, the utilization of groups in a community does not necessarily proliferate conflicts. Conflicts as Sanders notes, are a necessary component whenever human beings interact:

> It is obvious that no two people and no two groups which interact are . . . the same after interaction; they are either on friendlier or unfriendlier terms as a result. Furthermore, without interaction change could not occur.[11]

In Tanzania, indeed in the whole of Africa, community segmentation was and is a fact. The young people did certain things together and the old people did other things together as groups. The same could be said for the communities' segmentation on the basis of sex--women and girls as groups did some things in which men and boys did not participate. Then there were groups based on activities such as herding cattle or tribal dancing. Yet the presence of these groups did not necessarily create conflicts.

In the second place it must be noted that, although inter-group conflict does occur in communities, it is not the most common phenomenon. Cooperation is, perhaps, more prevalent. However, it is normal for observers to stress conflict and overlook the presence of cooperation. Again, Sanders observes:

> Conflict and acute competition are spectacular; they catch the headlines, cooperation is much more common and certainly more basic to the operation of the community life.[12]

In the third place, and more important, in this thesis the groups being advocated are those that will work to enhance individual group growth and development as well as relate themselves to the wider community. These groups are not superior to the WDC. In many programmes that they undertake the WDC will be involved in that it will have to support them materially and financially. The main spokesman of the ward is still the WDC, not the individual groups. It is true that these groups may have access to the outside world without recourse to the WDC. They can thus bring in a resource person to give a speech, to teach a skill or to do whatever thing is thought useful to the group and the community. The WDC should not unduly restrict them from doing these things. But for most practical purposes, the community through the WDC must be consulted and sometimes groups must have its approval for doing certain things.

As it will be clear later when the three illustrative groups are discussed in some detail, the problems these individual groups identify do not necessitate those groups always being responsible for the solutions, or even for suggesting the solutions. They may articulate problems which call for the mobilization of the entire ward, in which case it is the WDC which will undertake this mobilization. Should the various groups plan projects that compete for the limited resources, the WDC must come in to allocate the resources or to decide who among the competitors should be allowed to proceed with the implementation of the plan. At any rate, this should not happen when government officials such as CD workers, who advise groups, are operating in the area.

It is also important to realize that apart from the existence of the WDC, government and TANU officials are working to ensure that the groups work to enhance the development of the ward as a whole and that there is cooperation among the groups themselves. This point is further pursued in the discussion of the specific groups below.

The Purpose of Organizing Groups is to Improve Local Interaction

The question as to whether the participation of the rural people in the economic and social decisions affecting them is a desirable thing is already resolved in Tanzania. It was pointed out extensively in Chapter III how committed the country is to the idea of people's participation. The whole idea of appointing Regional and Area Commissioners, the establishment of development committees, the preparation and popularization of the resolutions of the Arusha Declaration, the publication of Mwongozo (TANU Guidelines) and now (1975) the move to transfer the national capital from Dar es Salaam to Dodoma in Central Tanzania (so that the central government is nearer the people), are all a reflection of the country's commitment to local participation.

However, what seems to be lacking, is a scheme which enables this commitment to local participation to be translated into action. The creation of the WDC is a significant step but it does not go far enough since the WDC alone cannot achieve the interpenetration of ideas between ward and the local units. But first, why is this interpenetration needed? Sanders comments:

> For any . . . community to come into existence, ways of communication must develop. This involves not only the transportation of people and goods, but also the interchange of ideas and information. People not only need to come together in physical proximity but they must have enough common knowledge and background to be able to talk intelligently and meaningfully to each other when they are together.[13]

The kind of interaction the writer has in mind, then, is one in which the units of the community exchange skills and ideas about any aspect of economic and social development. These ideas and skills the strategic community groups acquire as a result of the actions of local-level government and TANU workers as well as the actions of other outside personnel brought in the ward from time to time.

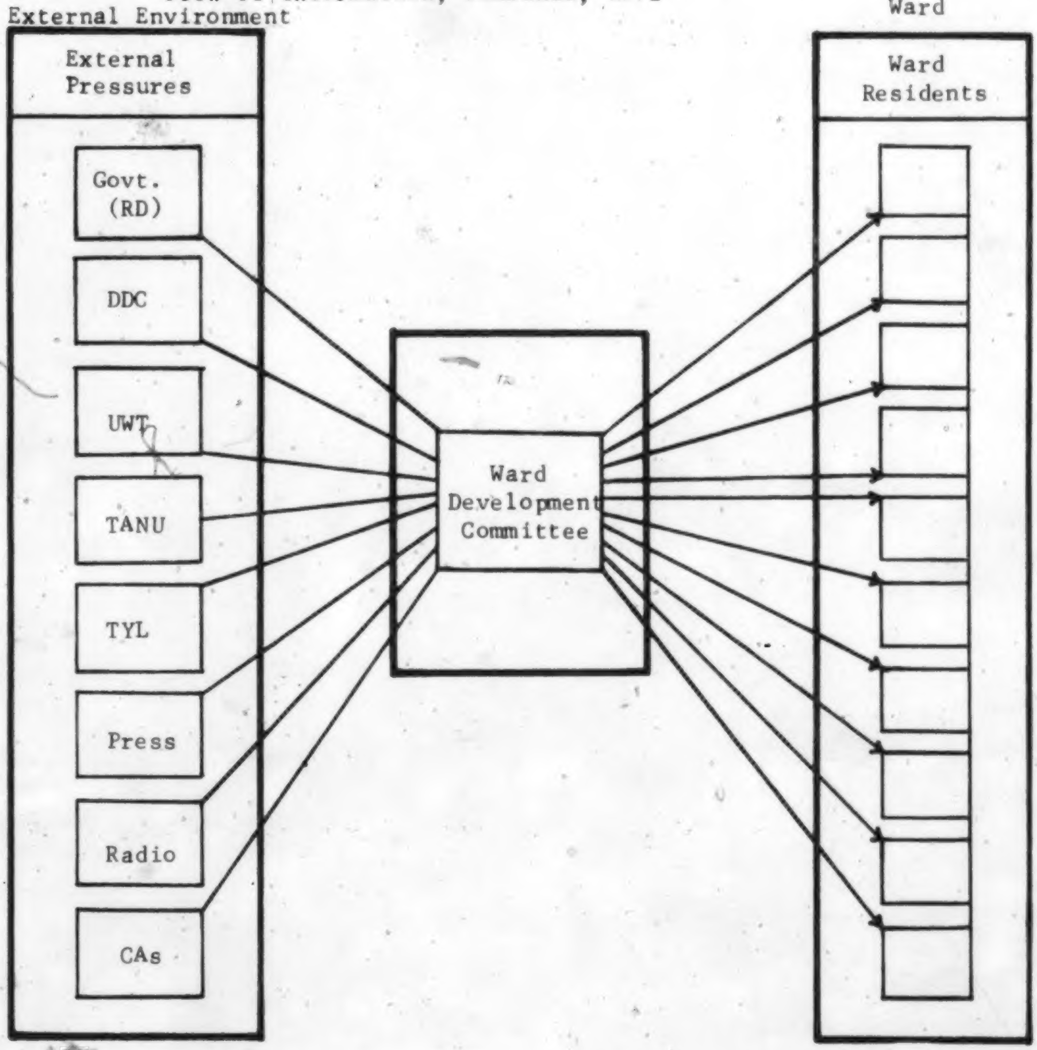
Figure 7 shows the kind of interaction that is desired to exist among ward units. It also shows the relation between the ward and its significant ward units on the one hand, and the external setting consisting of government and TANU officials, national organization such as the Umoja wa Wanawake wa Tanzania (UWT) and TANU Youth League (TYL) and the pressures from the national media--Radio Tanzania and newspapers on the other. Here the external inputs from the sources just cited come into the ward and are directed mainly to the WDC (as emphasized by the thick line). But also other external inputs go to the strategic ward groups directly. Moreover, the WDC receives inputs through these strategic ward groups. Figure 7 also shows that there is interaction among the strategic ward groups themselves. This situation results in a network of interaction which is significant both externally and internally. Compare this with Figure 6 in which all external inputs are directed to the WDC alone and there are no strategies (such as the strategic ward groups in Figure 7) for feeding the WDC and for coping with some of the external inputs which are not significant enough to go to the WDC. What obtains in Figure 6, unlike in Figure 7, is a less dynamic mode of ward interpenetration and the impact of the ward on the external setting, as a whole, is negligible. The ward is largely passive, a state which is contrary to the national policy which wants to see it active.

It is now time to turn to the examination of the specific inadequacies of the WDCs as the sole means of dealing with external and internal demands for change and hence the need for creating or organizing supporting strategic ward groups; and to discuss the three illustrative groups--those of women, youths and literacy classes.

Representational Inadequacy of Ward Development Committees

The survey in Chapter III has revealed that Tanzania relies, at least potentially, heavily on WDCs at the local level. They are

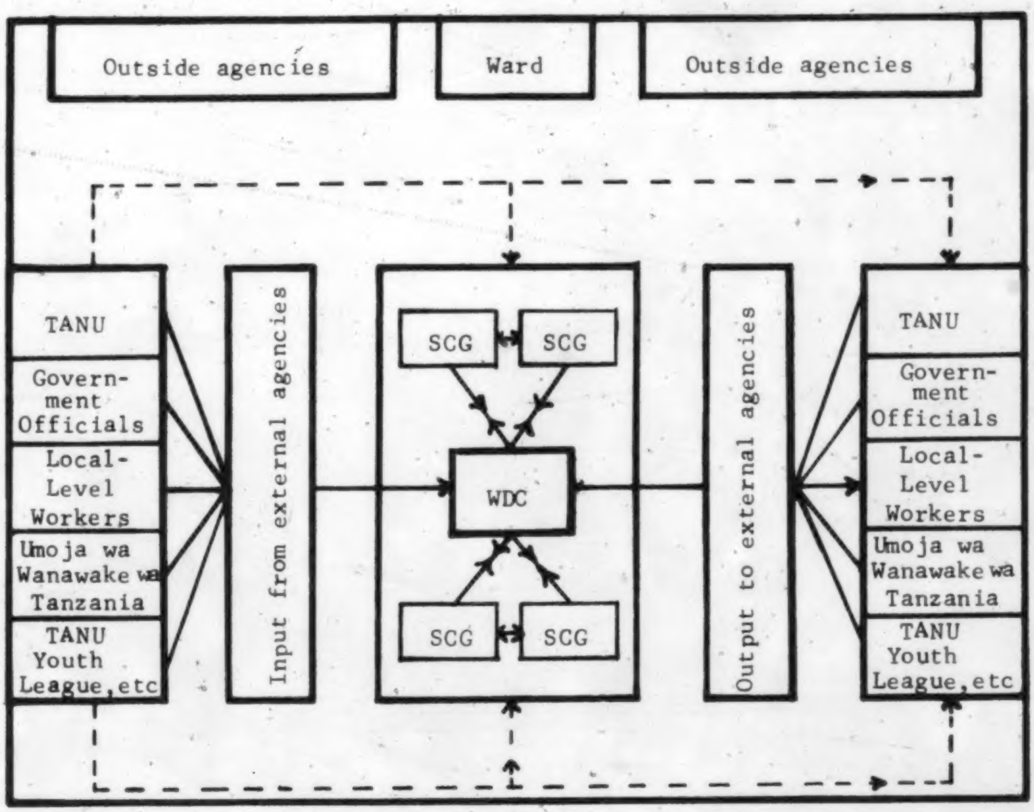
Figure 6. Post-decentralization: Ward Development Committee and the Flow of Information, Tanzania, 1972


External Environment
Ward
External Pressures
Govt. (RD)
DDC
UWT
TANU
TYL
Press
Radio
CAs
Ward Development Committee
Ward Residents

Reference:
Govt (RD) = Regional and District Visiting Government Officials
DDC = District Development Council
UWT = Umoja wa Wanake wa Tanzania (United Women of Tanzania)
TYL = TANU Youth League
CA = Change agents or local-level workers

Source: Constructed from the author's experience as a Community Development Officer and as a Planning Officer.

Figure 7: The WDC and Strategic Community Groups: A Suggested Model for Tanzania


Outside agencies
Ward
Outside agencies
TANU
Government Officials
Local-Level Workers
Umoja wa Wanawake wa Tanzania
TANU Youth League, etc
Input from external agencies
SCG
SCG
WDC
SCG
SCG
Output to external agencies
TANU
Government Officials
Local-Level Workers
Umoja wa Wanawake wa Tanzania
TANU Youth League, etc

Reference:
SCG = Strategic Community Groups
WDC = Ward Development Committee

Source: Author's conceptualization

not only considered as vehicles for carrying out self-help projects but also, among other things, for performing the following functions:

(a) Acting as intermediaries between the people and the government--channeling government and TANU decisions to the people and people's problems, needs and demands to the government and TANU;

(b) Interacting with government and TANU (both resident and non-resident);

(c) Preparing, coordinating and implementing local planning;

(d) Discovering local and external resources and utilizing them to effect community change;

(e) Educating their fellow community residents on government and TANU policy;

(f) Stimulating community interest in innovations.[14]

The belief that WDC members should or can perform these functions seems to be based on a number of assumptions including the following:

(a) That WDCs are capable of comprehending all external inputs (from: TANU, RCs, ACs, government visiting officials, local extension and CD workers, newspapers, radio broadcasts and so on);

(b) That they are capable of adequately disseminating these inputs;

(c) That they are capable of articulating national goals to fellow residents;

(d) That they are capable of arousing interest among their fellow members;

(e) That they have the capacity to train others;

(f) That they can plan;

(g) That they know all or most of the community needs, problems and demands;

(h) That they have the capacity to coordinate community activities.

The WDC and the Handling of External Inputs

External inputs that bombard WDCs, as (a) above shows, are many and diverse. They range all the way from advising a community to build a community centre or TANU office to starting small-scale industries. They originate from TANU officials, visiting and resident government officials, Regional and Area Commissioners, the press and the radio. It is quite doubtful whether the WDC alone is really an adequate machinery to handle them. The number and range of inputs that bombard the WDC are such that additional community channels are required for their adequate handling. Democracy in Western societies is said to be sufficiently preserved because of the presence and activity of pressure groups--the various vested interest groups such as trade unions, religious interests, consumer associations, citizen coalitions and many others. Reliance on a single ward leadership group--the WDC--in Tanzania however, seems to limit the capacity of wards to deal with external demands. Easton makes a relevant point in this connection when he observes:

> . . . Particularly in the transitional systems that are developing large-scale structures, local communities are typically and frequently cut off from national centres . . . . A local leadership may emerge as the brokers between the local communities and the centre . . . . But this type of channel has been less than what would be necessary to handle the volume of demands to which change has given rise.[15]

It has been noted already that the wards in Tanzania are not small communities. They are larger than the traditional village and comprise a number of segments and interest groups. These can be utilized to handle some of the inputs now directed to WDCs. Figure 6 shows the various external inputs which the WDC alone has to cope with. These inputs are then expected to be disseminated to a number of components. The response of the ward as represented by the WDC seems to be hopelessly unequal to the barrage of demands.

The WDC and the Articulation of National Goals

The objective of channeling plans, decisions and goals to the WDC is to have them passed on to the ward members. The assumption here seems to be that members of the WDC are capable of articulating these goals to other members of the ward. But the level of sophistication of most WDC members in Tanzania is quite low. In one study the writer made on WDCs, the following results were obtained:

> Of the forty respondents interviewed, 24 had no formal classroom education. Sixteen respondents had some education--11 of them had reached class six or lower (mostly lower), one had reached class seven, while eight people had completed class eight. The relatively low rate of educated respondents is expected.[16]

It is not being advocated here that WDCs should not play this role--

explaining national goals to ward residents. The point is rather that Tanzania is running very great risks when it believes that WDCs can always explain all of them well. This problem can be avoided by paying attention to other units or groups besides the WDC. By adopting this strategy Tanzania will ensure that national goals are understood. By widening the base for the reception of external inputs it will be narrowing the risk emanating from their misconception.

The WDC and Interest Arousal

The use of people's organizations like the WDC results, inter alia, from the notion that ward residents will be more responsive to innovations which fellow men--ward leaders--approve or support. This is largely true. Outsiders are sometimes disliked simply as outsiders and not as persons as Wilson and Ryland observe:

> When a worker starts to work with a group, he is like a fifth wheel. He is seldom really wanted, even if the members are consciously aware of their need for help . . . . Although his help may be needed badly his suggestions will be resented if offered before he has clearly established his appropriate relations with the members. Every group puts the worker on trial in the initial stages of their relationship.[17]

Further, local leaders often enable an undesirable decision or innovation to be carried out or adopted. In fact, an indigenous leadership can use threat or force without seriously hurting community feelings. Traditional sanctions have frequently been used by Tanzanian communities to discourage absenteeism from self-help work. All these things cannot be done by an outside change agent without incurring community antagonism, sometimes permanently.

Local leaders, however, cannot go on using threat indefinitely. If they do they will undoubtedly lose popularity just as outsiders do. So even local leaders must try to arouse interest among their less enthusiastic or reluctant followers. Local leaders differ greatly in their capacity to do this job. Besides, they have no comprehensive training for that task. In one of the writer's studies the following observations were reported:

> A systematic training of the WDC leaders (cell leaders) was found to be lacking in all of the four wards. In fact, none of the 22 WDCs in the district had been trained.[18]

It also must be remembered that ward members do not select their leaders always with a clear notion of the kind of functions they will be required to perform--at least they do not know all the complexities of their leaders' duties. Leaders may be chosen according to varying criteria--because they are charming, they are not troublesom, they are knowledgeable, or helpful. Change agents (such as CD or extension workers) can make use of different techniques to arouse or maintain interest. They can improve their oratory, employ films, method demonstrations, arranged field trips, and so on--all or most of which are not available to the ordinary WDC members.

It would seem, therefore, that one way of ensuring that the government and TANU are interacting with sufficiently aroused community residents is to create or deal with community components or groups based on activities of interest to them. This will counteract inadequacies the leaders have regarding interest arousal in rural villages.

WDCs and Their Capacity to Train Members of the Ward

When Tanzania uses WDCs as the sole means of communicating with the masses, it is, in fact, assuming that the leaders who sit in these committees have the capacity to train others--their followers. There can be no doubt that some of the leaders have been chosen principally on the basis of their ability to communicate ideas to community residents. But many inputs that bombard communities in Tanzania have an unfamiliar tone even to community leaders. Officials are talking of increasing the average income, using fertilizers and insecticides, reducing kwashiorkor, saving the nation's foreign reserves, and many others. By patient explanation they may succeed in making local leaders understand these things, but how are they sure that these leaders can equally be teachers of others?

In the study already mentioned, WDC members in one district were tested to see how much they knew about some popularly held concepts: Ubepari (capitalism), Ukabaila (feudalism), Unyonyaji (exploitation), Ukupe (parasitism) etc. The results obtained were striking. There was great variation as to what these concepts meant. There is also no doubt that each leader in this district explained them in his own unique way.

The ability of ward leaders to teach others is further limited by their low education and literacy, as noted. The only was Tanzania can ensure that national policies and goals are understood is for CD workers and other change agents to attempt reaching as many ward units and groups as possible. It is not being asserted here that WDCs should stop playing this role. WDC members may improve their performance in this area with constant training and as more educated residents take over leadership. Meanwhile, however, reliance on other groups in the ward is necessary to counteract the deficiency.

WDCs and Planning

As noted in Chapter III WDCs (then VDCs) were involved in the planning process soon after their inauguration in 1962 although they have not played this role very satisfactorily. It was also noted, however, that this failure was largely due to irresponsive district, regional and national arrangements in the planning process; for instance, district and regional support did not have enough money with which to implement comprehensive local plans. District Councils and Regional Commissioners also mishandled the Regional Development Fund. With the decentralization of administrative and planning powers to the regions the role of the WDC in the planning process has been emphasized once more, although, again, as already noted, the first year of Decentralization, at least in some regions, was of some frustration to local planning.

Comprehensive ward planning seems to be an appropriate role of the WDC and since ideally CD workers and other extension staff attend WDC meetings, the WDC should be in a position to formulate programmes relevant to local needs and problems as noted in a previous study: "Government and TANU local officials sit on the WDC in order to help the cell leaders make intelligent decisions and plans."[19]

Although the WDC appears the most appropriate body for formulating village plans, its work would have been much easier if there were interest or activity groups from which to draw them. Village plans once drawn and approved by higher authorities, where necessary, are not implemented by the WDC as such. It is the residents who actually carry a project out. Many village plans, like many district plans, are made by the WDC without thoroughly consulting ward members. Chapter III noted how RCs and ACs imposed projects on VDCs. Projects hastily prepared often fail to get carried out. This should not happen if projects emanate from or are thoroughly discussed by ward residents, and particularly by interest or activity groups. Thus members of a literacy class may come out with a request for a classroom, the Women's group with a request for a day care centre, youths with a request for a community or a recreational centre and members of cooperative society with a request for so many kilogrammes of fertilizers.

Apart from the fact that WDC planning from activity and interest groups ensures thorough discussion of local problems, and their implementation, it also guarantees interaction between WDCs and significant local units. Interaction between the WDC and its units, particularly those important ones, is itself a healthy sign of a ward's growth and development.

WDCs and Community Needs, Problems and Demands

Perhaps one of the most doubtful assumptions regarding WDCs is the belief that they know all the needs, problems and demands of any one ward which need government attention. This belief is explicit in the channeling of all decisions through the WDC and in the expectation that if the WDCs are constantly contacted it will be easy or possible to know all ward needs. The belief is also implicit in the lack of support for groups other than the WDCs. In fact it was noted in Chapter III that RDDs and DDDs, at least in the region (Mwanza) the writer served in 1973, neglected even the training of the members of officially-constituted WDCs. Yet the national policies stress adequate contact with and planning from local units. The view here is that contact with local units is hopelessly inadequate if the wards are treated as undifferentiated entities--units without divergent groups, views and interests. It is useful in this connection to note Kotler's observation in addition to what has already been said above:

> Whether the change target is conceived of as a client system, power system, or enemy system, change agencies attempt to apply target segmentation to aid their efforts. Target segmentation is a major step in effective social action. Too often the target system is stereotyped, and its members and institutions are approached in the same way. Yet the fact is that any target group contains persons at different stages of accessibility and susceptability to the cause. The change agency must pay attention to these differences and search for the most meaningful dimensions of effective segmentation.[20]

As already noted, the present wards are bigger than the traditional village or community. This fact makes it even more necessary that change agents, diversify their interaction with the present rural community. The best way of doing this is to create or identify as many ward components or groups as can be effectively handled. The logic of this approach is that there will exist a variety of community units which articulate a variety of ward needs, problems and demands. The present Tanzanian approach to the articulation of ward needs is too monolithic. Besides this advantage, it seems that the ward will become more powerful in its impact on the DDC, RDC and other national institutions since some of its needs, problems and demands may not need to go through the WDC before reaching them. Or better still, both the WDC and the important or strategic ward components may simultaneously make their point felt. Not only does the presence of a mulitiplicity of ward units make it possible for demands to be heard at the top much more effectively, but also the various demands from outside (see Figure 7) find articulate groups to absorb them.

One main aim of CD in many countries is to enable communities to be self-reliant, that is, to pass on to them the ability to maintain change once started, to continue making worthwhile changes and to cope with any adverse effects of any change. This point is clear in Lippitt's statement:

> Acquiring new understanding and developing new intentions and skills are important aspects of the change process. But the main test of the change agent's help remains the stability and permanence of the client system's changed behaviour when the agent is no longer actively working with the client. The change process must equip the client system to carry on effectively in a wide range of . . . activities . . . .[21]

The presence of a variety of well-prepared community groups seems to make lasting change possible. They will be a source of varied view-points, needs, problems and demands; they will have greater impact on external agencies and they will be a source of experienced leadership for the WDC, that is, the leaders being chosen for the WDC will be readily available, albeit sophisticated ones, from improved ward groups. There is at the moment no training ground for ward leaders prior to their election to the WDC.

WDCs and Their Capacity to Coordinate Community Activities

As noted in Chapter III many self-help activities have been carried out by rural communities since Tanzania obtained independence from Britain. Rural communities have been able to do so because they had an organized community leadership--the VDC. This organization coordinated people's efforts, material and human resources. CD facilitated people's efforts with whatever assistance the VDCs needed. Indeed, it is doubtful that rural communities would have undertaken so many self-help projects without this centrally constituted leadership--the VDC. Coordination of local requests and programmes will continue to be an important function of the WDC. But rural wards will perform their coordinating role well if CD and other agents of change do everything possible to make this function easy for the WDCs. The existence of articulate local groups is one way of doing this.

In the past VDCs had to take into account aggregate demands from various individuals or ad hoc groups. Sometimes, perhaps most often, they had to assume that certain development programmes were more important than others. Or they had been pressured from above (government and TANU) to support or initiate these projects. With well informed and interested groups WDCs should be able to know ward needs, problems and demands even more easily. Moreover, as already noted, planning from interested groups means that implementation will be relatively easy since these groups already give support for the programmes.

Although it has been stated already that it is desirable that groups themselves make direct contact with external institutions, for important ward projects it is necessary that the central ward leadership does the planning and secures the needed external resources. A consolidated ward plan must be made by the WDC, not the individual units or groups. However, small projects which can be initiated and implemented by groups themselves should be left to these units. They may secure external assistance with or without involving the WDC. There seems to be nothing bad about that.

The type of coordination WDCs have been able to achieve in the past in connection with self-help projects, has, however, been a limited one. For example, WDCs have not always been in position to control the activities of the various field workers. These workers have not always scheduled theier work routines in accordance with the needs, problems or demands of the wards. The absence of articulate ward groups meant that ward impact on field workers will always remain minimal. The only group to make any demands on the field worker was the WDC if it were articulate enough. With the existence of improved ward units it should be possible to make more impact on the workers, thus forcing them to perform their duties in accordance with the wishes of the ward. Community initiated coordination does not only consist in consolidating various requests and proposals of the various units of the ward. It also means controlling the activities of CD and other extension workers. This is achieved by requiring them to work according to community interests as advocated by articulate ward groups and as stipulated in the WDC plans and other deliberations. The danger that the WDC and its subgroups will make unrealistic demands does not arise or at least this will be greatly minimized because great attention has been paid to their improvement or education. Furthermore, field staff will have assisted these local groups in most of their deliberations at least in their initial stages of development.

Which Groups Should be Selected for Improvement?

It has been asserted that the existence of a variety of groups increases the possibility of effective change because such groups help the ward to absorb and synthesize increasingly large amounts of external inputs and in turn make varied demands, suggestions and other outputs to external sources. At this juncture there is a need to discuss criteria for selecting strategic community units or groups for upgrading and to suggest programmes pertinent to them.

Criteria for Selecting Strategic Community Units or Groups

A hint has already been made that ward units that have to be improved or made articulate in dealing with external influence as well as sustaining change which is already started, or maintaining the spirit for change, must be those which occupy a position considered crucial in enhancing desirable change. Those units or groups must, also, be conceived as having some difficulty in coping with or maintaining change. The difficulty may relate to understanding national policies, articulating desired changes to others, diagnosing problems and needs, mobilizing local and external resources, and so on. The assumption that a community faces some difficulty or problem in its change endeavours is what brings change facilitators, into the community. Lippit and his colleagues elaborate:

> The decision to make change may be made by the system itself after experiencing pain (malfunctioning) or discovering the possibility of improvement, or by an outside change agent who observes the need for change in a particular system and takes initiative in establishing a helping relationship with that system.[22]

There are many community units or groups in Tanzania which seem to be important in enhancing social and economic change. They are presently not fully mobilized. This thesis for illustrative purposes as already stated, discusses three units or groups: women, youths, and literacy classes. It should be noted that there are many ways of segmenting (differentiating) a community as the following quotation from Kotler illustrates:

> The change agency must pay attention to . . . differences and search for the most meaningful dimensions of effective segmentation. The change agent can draw on demographic, geographic, psychographic, behavioral, and social structural variables for segmenting target individuals and institutions.[23]

Thus the three groups are based on sex (women), age (youths), and an improvement activity (literacy).

Women

Segmenting the rural wards in terms of sex one notes that women in Tanzania are a disadvantaged group compared to men. This means that they are not in a position to participate in development endeavours as dynamically as one would wish them to. But the social, cultural and economic role expected of a Tanzanian rural woman is not a small one, as the observation by MacDonald reveals:

> The typical woman of colonial-day Tanganyika was a demure, quiet figure who carried a bundle balanced on her head and a baby on her back . . . her inferior role demanded that she walk six or eight paces behind her spouse who carried a light-weight walking stick. As a mother she was responsible for the nursing and upbringing of the children. As a wife, she took her place in the fields to help cultivate the crops. She washed the clothes and made the mud walls of the family hut. She cooked and cradled, bathed and built in a weary succession of tasks . . . . She did not wander far from the hut and her voice was not heard in the village . . . in the many tribes which practices polygamy she might be one of the two or three wives. She was illiterate and she was made to feel her inferiority.[24]

Although MacDonald continues elsewhere in his book to contend that from 1965 onwards Tanzanian women have had a voice in national and local affairs, anybody who has visited rural areas will be surprised to find that the above statement remains largely true. It is true that there is a women's organization in Tanzania, the U.W.T. (Umoja wa Wanawake wa Tanzania, or United Women of Tanzania). It is very strong, especially in towns. It is true that many women occupy high positions in government, TANU and the parastatal bodies. But generally speaking, women are still very much disadvantaged compared to men. Professor Rene Dumont is so disturbed by the women's lot that he accuses men of exploitation:

> The true proletariate of Tanzania is not the docker or the urban worker with a fixed salary, but rather the peasant farmer, with a much lower average income. For although he owns his means of production, these--his hand tools--often remain laughable . . . . However, in the peasant class it is the woman who is the most exploited . . . on the roads, tracks and paths, the time spent by the women carrying water on their heads seems very considerable. One generally sees the man walking behind, his hands empty, his head free, his arms swinging, and not at all bothered . . . . It would be interesting to measure the amount of time devoted to all this carrying, plus that spent on pounding maize . . . These two activities seem capable of absorbing from one fifth to one third of the time of women in many rural areas.[25]

But though thus exploited, the women of Tanzania occupy a very strategic position in the change efforts. They work on farms, care for the family, raise children, socialize children and do a variety of other activities. In Chapter III Nyerere was quoted accusing men of being unfair to the women. The women were said to do more than their fair share of work. But they are not given the deserved recognition or reward.

The present disturbing condition of women in Tanzania, indeed in the whole of Africa, is due to a number of factors. They emanate principally from cultural subordination and lack of education.

Chapters II and III noted both the traditional burdens imposed on women and the colonial neglect for women's education. It is suggested here that women need more vigorous interaction with CD workers and other change agents, if they are to contribute significantly to the development of rural communities.

A further example of the gap between men and women in East Africa is provided by Diamond and Burke:

> A fifth disparity fostered by educational development in East Africa is the differential in the education of boys and girls . . . . Education for women and girls did not receive the support and encouragement given for boys and until recently. In Kenya in 1961, 1391 pupils took the Cambridge Overseas School Certificate of whom only 182 were girls. In Tanganyika's secondary schools in 1967 there were 4,458 boys and 850 girls.[26]

The fact that fewer girls have been going to school until very recently means that there will for some years be more illiterate adult women than men. But as noted several times so far, failure by implementers to formulate plans that identify groups needing this education has prevented women from improving their opportunities. What is now required is supportive personnel, financial and other resources. RDDs and DDDs, as noted in Chapter III (see under Decentralization), are failing to provide such resources.

The social and economic advantages of improving the situation of women, as an important component of the rural community, are clear from the various quotes and analyses made so far. Others can be added, for example, Arthur Dunham wrote in 1967 that:

> The United Nations report on Community Development and National Development (1963) points out that 'Women constitute half the

> population' but that their 'effectiveness in social change depends in part on their social status'. The report stresses the importance of identifying community problems in the solution of which women can play a key role--for example, nutrition. Women may contribute to the economy of the family and community through crafts, and productive home enterprise. Women, the report suggests, are particularly suited for certain technical roles--for example, social work, home economics, maternity and child welfare, and family planning. Training is needed to equip women for such services. It is important also to encourage women to take more part in the village, regional, and other committees and to develop the role of women in government.[27]

Certainly one cannot upgrade women simply by paying attention to the WDC in rural communities. Nor can this be achieved by concentrating on towns and cities as the U.W.T. is now doing. Dumont has criticized the U.W.T. for engaging in mere discussions instead of trying to solve women's problems; "The U.W.T. could harness itself to these economic tasks, which could be more effective than many discussions."[28] Indeed one important reason for considering women's groups as strategic at the local level is the existence at the national level of the U.W.T. and the likelihood that links could be formed between local groups and the national organization, leading to increased influence on the part of the former. Local groups which are backed by a national organization and a network of similar groups can be more effective than exclusively local groups. The Women's Institute is an example of an influential national and international body which has been able to lend legitimacy and strength to local women's groups in many countries.

In one study made in 1967 the following observations were made with regard to women's lack of education.[28] The observations reveal that mortality rate for children increases the lower the mother's education although the father's occupation may also be contributary.

Table 2

Mortality Differences by Mother's Education and Father's Occupation:

Mortality Measure	Mother's Education		Father's Occupation	
	None	5 Years or More	Peasant Farmer	Urban Executive
No. of children who die before age 1 (per 100)	16	8	16	6
No. who die before age 5 (per 100)	26	13	26	10
Life expectancy at birth (years)	41	56	41	61

Source: Kocher, J.S., Research Fellow Demographic Unit, Bureau for Research Assessment and Land Use Planning, University of Dar es Salaam.

From the above study it would seem that the woman's lack of of education is at least a contributory factor to the mortality rate in the country. No doubt further research work can reveal more women-related problems.

Programme Activities for Women's Growth and Development

A warning was made to the effect that the groups discussed in this chapter are meant to be illustrative. They are not the only units or groups that could be made articulate. The same warning applies to the choice of programme content. Depending on the needs and interests of the groups of a particular locality, there are many more activities, or combinations thereof, that could go into a women's programme. The question of members' interest is very important, at least in the initial stages of programme development as Wilson and Ryland comment:

> With all groups, the . . . worker assists members in the development of programmes that will meet needs, arouse interests, and extend horizons . . . their interests provide good starting points for programme planning . . . .[30]

The emphasis on members' needs, interests and ~~problems~~ is the desire, in CD, to secure the fullest participation possible of the units or groups in their own development. This desire is also consistent, as already seen, with Tanzania's philosophy. Tanzania is committed to developing man and not material things.

Now, to go back to programme activities which seem relevant to Tanzania's rural women and which seem to help solve their present problems, the following outline is suggested:

(1) Literacy: the literacy gap between men and women in Tanzania has been noted.

(2) Information: Tanzanian women, particularly rural women seem to lack knowledge of all sorts. It seems desirable, for example, to reduce their ignorance on such matters as

(i) their rights as persons,

(ii) their plight,

(iii) the size of the contribution to the economic, social and cultural life of the country,

(iv) their strengths and weaknesses,

(v) what women in other countries do and the way they view the world.

(3) Knowledge and skills: One would also like to see women in rural Tanzania become more knowledgeable about:

(i) child rearing

(ii) home improvement/management

(iii) food preparation, storage, et cetera.

(4) Initiation of projects that reduce women's burdens: Women should spearhead projects, possibly done through self-help, which reduce and ease their burdens. For example, Tanzanian women in some areas waste a lot of time fetching firewood and collecting water. It is up to the women to recommend self-help afforestation and digging of wells near homes. They can also pressure the village to construct and man a day-care centre or centres for looking after the village children while their mothers perform the numerous routines. The more articulate and organized women become, the more effectively are they able to pressure their husbands to employ machines and animals (ploughs, oxen, carts, etc.) in cultivating shambas (crop fields) instead of human (often women's) sweat.

(5) Political education: Women require this kind of education to familiarize themselves with national and regional issues and to see the need for more women's representation in the National Assembly and similar institutions. As noted in the foregoing, present-day Tanzanian

women are too passive to the many political decisions that affect them.

Very many specific programmes based on interest could be developed from these broad outlines. It is the duty of all CD and extension workers to create interest in one or more of these aspects of rural life. The duty of the RDC and the DDC is to support wards with field staff, financial and material resources. The duty of the WDC should be to support worthwhile programmes by incorporating them in their ward plans and by mobilizing the ward's human and material resources to implement them.

As women come to understand their needs, problems and interests, they will appreciate the need to cooperate with the central ward leadership--the WDC, other ward groups, extension and CD workers, and outside institutions or organizations. For example, a nursery school can be built with the help of the WDC securing funds from the DDC. The teacher may be provided by one of the ward youth groups. The afforestation programme to reduce the time wasted on collecting firewood needs the help of the local forest guard or ranger, the WDC and perhaps the youths. The interaction between one ward group with the WDC, other groups and outside persons and organizations is suggested by Figure above.

Youths

In the same way that the existence of the U.W.T. can be a factor in augmenting the strategic importance, at the local level, so the existence of the TANU Youth League can help to legitimize local youth groups and give them strength.

The country's youth is another community unit or group which seems to be inadequately mobilized for development. Like women, the youths of Tanzania could play a more constructive role in the country's development if they were made articulate and if their problems were put into proper perspective. Arthur Dunham sums the importance of youths in saying, "'The child is tomorrow'; the youth of today will be the adult members and in some cases the leaders of the community ten or fifteen years from now."[31]

Tanzania recognizes the need to do something about the country's youth. Nyerere has made this point clear in his 'Education for Self-Reliance'.[32]

> It is, however, not only in relation to social values that our education system has a task to do. It must also prepare young people for the work they will be called upon to do in the society which exists in Tanzania--a rural society where improvements will depend largely upon the efforts of the people in agriculture and the village development.[33]

Nyerere is critical of the present educational policy especially with regard to primary schooling. Since only a few primary school leavers have a chance of going on to secondary schools, primary schools should be preparing the youths to go back to the land.

Lack of paid employment for the young people outside the farming sector and the limited secondary school places due to expanding primary enrolment are some of the resons for the need to return primary school leavers to the land. The former point is clear in the following statements from the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Development Planning:

> The 'modern' or urban industrial economy is so small it cannot provide job opportunities for any but a small fraction of the new entrants to the labour market. Each year there are about 260,000 new entrants and at best an average of around 11,000 new agricultural wage jobs. About 50,000 of these annual new entrants are primary school leavers. It is clear that the vast majority of all new entrants must find their living on the land. There simply are not other opportunities.

The number of primary school leavers seeking paid employment must have increased since this article was written in 1967. Thus the Minister of Education in his budget speech for the Fiscal Year 1973/74[35] stated that the number of pupils finishing grade VII in 1972 was 88,656. The number completing this grade in 1971 was 70,502. Of the 88,656 primary school graduates only 7,955 pupils obtained places in secondary schools. A similar figure for 1971 was 7,320 pupils. This analysis reveals that while there were 63,182 primary school leavers seeking employment in 1971, the number rose to 80,701 in 1972. For a further discussion of the problem of African school leavers see Callaway in the Community Development Journal of July, 1967.[36] Callaway finds African paid employment unable to absorb new job seekers from schools. Agriculture is viewed as the solution for some time to come.

The Need to Engage Youths Gainfully

Such observations point to the fact that unless something useful both economically and socially is done, the youth problem can get out of hand. Many observers of this problem indicate that leaders should look to the land for at least a partial solution. In Tanzania, as already noted, the problem is very well understood. What is lacking, it appears, is a tangible programme that will make the youths feel they are doing something which is useful to them--economically and socially. Comments Dumont:

> The Primary school should first of all concern itself with those who will go no further, and who form the majority of school children instead of being almost entirely concerned with examination--that is, with those who will go further. To the former, they should give a whole series of practical ideas, of immediate use. The rural school-child should be able to become not just a backward peasant, as in the past but a peasant capable of modernizing himself.[37]

It must, however, be noted that although the teacher can be useful in imparting useful knowledge and skills to the school leaver, he is not in contact with him once the school leaver completes school. Here the youth meets CD workers and other extension staff. Moreover, the school leaver needs continuous support, once he decides to remain in the village, in order to be successful in whatever he will be engaged in.

One further point must be made about the problems of youths in Tanzania. So far the problem has been discussed as if it exists only with regard to school leavers. There are, however, other youths who have not been to school. It was noted in the foregoing and in Chapter III that not all children go to school in Tanzania. Most uneducated youths are prepared to settle for agriculture, but by no means all of them. A comprehensive youth programme, therefore, must include these non-school leavers.

Youth Programmes

In the light of these conditions among rural youths it appears desirable to base youth programmes on these areas:

(1) Economic activities: These are numerous but agriculture should be the main preoccupation. Many youths, as noted above, would like to attempt agricultural work but they lack resources--financial assistance and tools, as the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Development Planning notes:

> Among these many young people there are a number who might listen sympathetically to the idea of entering farming with the objective of making a remunerative proposition out of it. Those who might be inclined, however, find there is no place they can go for help and guidance.[38]

It is the duty of CD workers and other extension staff to offer this guidance. Financial assistance must be given wherever possible--the RDF which was referred to in Chapter III could be used to sponsor economic activities for the willing youths, instead of being misused by RCs, ACs and other government officials to bribe unwilling villagers to join Ujamaa Villages.

(2) Recreational and cultural activities: In his statements, Callaway[39] seems to imply that the youths find the rural social environment dull or boring. This is partly because life is centered mainly on work. There are few or no facilities for useful leisure time activities apart from drinking. With the presence of youths in the rural areas a fairly active social life should come into existence. Community Centres should cater for such activities as dances, games, debates and

film shows. They should be places for channelling the youth's physical and mental energy and for transmitting and maintaining Tanzanian culture in various fields including worthwhile aspects of traditional youth roles.

(3) Literacy and adult education: The youths' reading, writing and arithmetic skills should be employed to combat rural illiteracy and ignorance. They themselves should be a target for continuing education. The youths are often interested in self-improvement but the lack of facilities, such as libraries, discourage their efforts. The youths are normally full of energy and when productive channels for expending it are lacking or inadequate they tend to drift into undesirable and criminal activities.

(4) Self-help work: The youths should be active participants in self-help projects both in their initiation and their implementation. With the prevailing lack of communication means, the youths could be usefully employed to carry the messages of various centrally decided plans and projects. The youths themselves should be trained in skills (such as masonry, carpentry and land planning) essential for carrying out village projects.

(5) Leadership Preparation: The youths are the leaders of tomorrow. Their activities therefore, should inculcate leadership abilities. The youths must be encouraged to relate themselves to the wider community and to see their constructive role in it.

Literacy Classes

Literacy classes have been chosen for discussion here because they offer an excellent example of existing community groups which can be fruitfully utilized to further the development of rural communities. The CD strategy of interacting with community members should not only consist in forming new groups. The encouragement and use of existing groups may greatly save the CD worker's time that has to be expended on forming new ones. Tanzania's literacy campaign has led to many literacy groups being formed throughout the country. But there are very few, if andy, CD workers and other extension staff who are making use of these groups to disseminate information that will be helpful to literacy learners in various aspects of their life. But it is only recently that adult literacy has received emphasis, financial and material support from the government. For two consecutive years, 1970 and 1971, Nyerere emphasized the importance of adult education in his New Year addresses[40] to the nation. The response to Nyerere's call for total war on illiteracy has so far been encouraging, particularly for the last two or three years. Thus, the Minister of Education[41] in his 1973/74 budget speech stated that there were then 3 million adult Tanzanians attending literacy classes. The number doing so in 1972 was 1.3 million. The aim of the Ministry is to have 5.2 million Tanzanians attending literacy classes by 1975. This is a very large number of people and the importance of their interacting with change agents of various agencies cannot be over emphasized.

Knowledge of the Three Rs is Not Sufficient

Literacy is commonly defined as the ability to read, write and do simple arithmetic.[42] For the most part the literacy classes conducted in Tanzania at the moment seem to stress the knowledge of these basic skills. The 'World Congress of Ministers of Education on the Eradication of Illiteracy' meeting in Tehran in 1965 recognized the naivete of the then prevailing conception of literacy and they therefore coined the following definition:

> A person is literate when he has acquired the essential knowledge and skills which enable him to engage in all those activities in which literacy is required for effective functioning in his group and community, and whose attainments in reading, writing, and arithmetic, make it possible for him to continue to use these skills towards his own and the community's development.[43]

The Ministers continued to note that literacy should not be restricted to the minimum content but should be viewed as a functional literacy. The words 'functional literacy' are intended to emphasize the importance of relating the reading, writing and arithmetic skills to other aspects of the learner's life.

It is not, however, the objective of this thesis to consider the best way of conducting literacy classes. The interest here is the existence of literacy classes (average life is at least one to two years) as components of a ward. The first task of the rural worker, primarily the CD worker, is to convert these classes into social groups in the sense noted early in this chapter. This is done by employing the group work method as discussed above. They can then be utilized for furthering the awareness of ward needs and problems--

economic, social, cultural, educational, et cetera--and resources. As with the other two groups already discussed, literacy classes must be helped to relate themselves to the wider community. And depending on the location of the particular literacy classes (now social groups as well), their development programmes may range from taking interest in 'modern' cotton farming and fishing to engaging in small-scale industries and in helping produce a local newspaper.

In this matter--the augmentation of literacy classes' activities and the conversion of these classes into social groups--the writer comments from some experience. He worked with the UNESCO/UNDP Work-Oriented Literacy Project[*] in Mara Region. First literacy teachers, who were mainly village volunteers, were thoroughly trained not only in the teaching of adults but also in disseminating a multiplicity of other useful information and the imparting of pertinent skills (such as carrying out demonstration sessions with the learners participating). They were also taught how to enlist the help of techical staff and in involving classes in important community projects and affairs. Secondly everything was done to make a class a pleasant place by encouraging informal discussions, holding parties, and so on. As a result literacy classes in the pilot areas became the most active groups in the community. They became more open to outsiders (the various local level workers and their district and regional superiors who visited the classes) and more receptive of their messages. There also arose indirect advantages. For example, the literacy teachers, who had hitherto been nonentities, became quite influential people in the villages, some of them being elected to higher representative bodies such as the District Council and the TANU Annual Meeting of the district.

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[*] This project is centered in Mwanza, Tanzania, and it is an experimentation in 'functional literacy'. The project is now under the Ministry of National Education.

Steps Involved in Organizing Strategic Community Groups

Grassroots mobilization involves possessing certain skills on the part of the worker for example, the ability to listen sensitively. the ability to secure people's acceptance and sustain it, and the ability to express oneself clearly and simply.

Making his or her presence known

Supposing the worker is new in a ward, the first thing he does is to get himself known to the people, particularly those who matter. These may include various government and TANU workers, the WDC Chairman, other WDC members, influential local residents (this includes traditionally respected persons). The workers may use these established leaders and workers to get to know the various parts of the ward.

Dividing the ward into manageable areas

Having decided what groups are strategic, the worker divides the ward into manageable areas. How many groups will be formed depends partly on his ability to attend their meeting, especially initially, and partly on the ease with which local people join groups. In Tanzania it is normal to allocate at least two CD workers for each ward that gets CD workers. The aim in the future is for more CD workers to be sent to the wards.

Locating and contacting would-be members

The location of potential members can be done with the help of established leaders like WDC members or other government and TANU workers or local officers and members of the UWT and the TYL. Meetings are arranged for the worker to meet prospective members. Sometimes it will be necessary for the worker to do home visiting so as to explain in detail what the purposes of groups are. This strategy may be useful in that the worker meets and discusses his aims with a few people. These then spread the idea to other people. Actual recruitment of members can in fact be made by people so visited.

When the workers meets the new members, he performs the following tasks, among others:

(i) Discuss the purpose of forming a group;
(ii) Help members develop a programme;
(iii) Help members arrange how often they will meet and where;
(iv) Help members choose leaders;
(v) Help members obtain resources--human and financial.

It may take a number of sessions before leaders are chosen or a group programme is developed or made acceptable to all members.

Administering the programme

This includes:

(i) Teaching the necessary skills;
(ii) Providing information;
(iii) Encouraging individual contributions;
(iv) Bringing in other workers and experts from within and outside the ward;
(v) Improving group cohesiveness and interpersonal relations.

The aim of the worker is to help the individual members as well as the group as a whole to achieve. At the same time the worker helps the group to relate to other groups, the WDC and the rest of the ward. This is done by encouraging members of a group and the group as a whole to seek help from others and by instilling into them the sense of interaction with other groups and individuals.

Making leaders aware of the existence of a group

The establishment of groups cannot be made in any ward or part thereof without the knowledge of at least some of the local leaders. These for Tanzanian wards include; cell leaders, WDC members, other formal leaders such as the Ward Executive Officer (WEO), TANU officials, U.W.T. leaders, influential and knowledgeable individuals. The various local-level government workers also need to be aware of these groups for they may need and are expected in this thesis to make use of them.

CD workers who have some skills and training in mobilizing the rural masses seem to be the best placed people for this work. However, any other local-level workers and TANU with the necessary training can help to form groups.

Support for the groups from the district and regional headquarters will depend in part on what the worker writes in his monthly, annual and other reports. So it is necessary for the worker to keep the district and region well informed of the achievements and needs of these groups. But the support is also in part dependent on WDC planning. Since the planning unit in the ward is the WDC, groups are likely to receive more financial and material help through WDC allocations. The activities of the WDC and of the groups are complementary here. Groups diagnose problems and learn the skills for undertaking the changes needed, while the WDC consolidates group plans into a ward plan which receives financial allocations from the district and the region.

Before concluding this chapter, it seems appropriate to make a short list of further groups that could be organized or contacted (if already in existence) for the purpose of improving them to play a more significant role in the social and economic life of the country. The reader should note that even this list does not exhaust the potential for group formation in rural communities.

Examples of Further Groups that Could be Improved in a Rural Community

1. Groups Based on Cooperation

   (Involving such cooperative activities as commodity growing, vegetable gardening, poultry keeping, bee-keeping, and fishing)

2. Groups Based on a Particular Skill

   (Would include masons, carpenters, charcoal burners, and traditional craftsmen)

3. Groups Based on Recognized or Potential Leadership Role

   (Would include traditional dancers, singers and present-day musicians)

5. Groups Based on Religion

   (Include Church leaders, elders, catechism and Bible readers).

Conclusion

It seems appropriate to end this chapter with some recommendations for the higher authorities--the regional and planning and administrative structure.

Firstly, the local-level workers--the various extension workers--must be given the material and financial resources with which to activate strategic ward groups, the WDCs and the masses in general. They also need to be trained in skills of working with local groups and individuals. The regions have been provided with immense autonomy to do these things. The RDDs, through the consolidated Regional Plan, can ask for additional staff they need for the region. In order to enable them to do this the RDDs have been provided with the Regional Personnel Officer who has two officers below him to deal with manpower procurement and training. These are the Administrative Officer, Manpower, and the Administrative Officer, Training. When the writer worked in Mwanza these people were underemployed, that is, they did not do much in terms of manpower projections, procurement and training. The ministries in Dar es Salaam can provide officers and local level workers only when the regions request them.

Secondly, it is being advanced here that CD workers should spearhead the activities of strategic ward groups because of the fact that they are more informed of and experienced in local participation. CD workers of all levels can be procured from the Prime Minister's Office just as workers of other departments are procured. So, whether a region has enough staff or too few--CD workers or agricultural officers--depends on the dynamism of RDDs and the soundness of their regional plans. At the present time the problem is not so much with the shortage of CD staff at the local level as with the need to have CD officers as heads of the department at the regional and district levels. It has been stated already that at the moment most heads of the departments of Ujamaa and Cooperative Development come from the former Division of Cooperative Development. But there are regions and districts where CD officers are the functional officers of this Division. In these regions and districts the problem of directing local CD activities does not arise since every functional officer sits on the RDC, the

Regional Management Team meeting, the DDC and DD & PC. He is thus in a position to influence CD philosophy. In regions and districts where CD officers are not the functional officers there are CD supporting officers (that is, supporting the functional officer who is a Cooperative Division man). But since supporting officers do not sit on development committees at these levels, there is a tendency for CD people to have less influence on these committees.

There are at least three ways of over-coming this problem:

(a) The RDDs need to be informed, through national seminars and training sessions, of the importance of local involvement and hence the need to have workers in wards who have skills in rural animation, and CD workers normally have such skills.

(b) The functional officers who come from the former division of Cooperative Division can be briefed or trained in CD approaches. In fact this alternative is being considered, and joint training of CD and Cooperative workers below the diploma level is currently being experimented with at the Cooperative College, Moshi, in Kilimanjaro region.

(c) A department of Community Development (it could be given any other designation, this does not really matter) could be reinstated.

Meanwhile, at least an Assistant Commissioner for Ujamaa and Cooperatives responsible for Community Development is required at the national level to take overall care of the department. Again this provision exists in the scheme of service of the new Division of Ujamaa and Cooperative Development but it had not been implemented by August, 1973 when the writer left for studies in Canada.

When all this is said it should not be implied that only Community Development workers can make use of these groups. The groups are being advocated here with a view to having them utilized by all types of local level workers. Moreover, these groups can be formed by any local level worker who has some training in this area. Perhaps one additional duty of Community Development workers at the local level should be to conduct seminars for local level workers of other departments and TANU on how to create and make use of ward groups. The writer remembers this kind of task being done quite successfully in relating extension workers of various types to Village Development Committees during 1963.

These recommendations amount to a strengthening of the Community Development component in the government structure. To complement this effort the WDCs will require to be strengthened if they are to coordinate the activities of these groups and if they are to make worthwhile ward development plans. For these purposes WDCs can be trained in the nationally established District and Rural Training Centres, which are currently being underutilized. Each district at present has at least one District Training Centre and/or one Rural Training Centre, which have been established to train local leadership of all sorts.

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CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS: FACTORS AFFECTING IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROPOSALS FOR STRATEGIC COMMUNITY GROUPS, AND IMPLICATIONS FOR ACTION

In the present situation in Tanzania there are a number of factors which affect the implementation of the proposals made in Chapter IV. They operate at all levels--local, district and regional.

Local Factors

Certain changes are not easily welcomed by the masses. In Chapter III the fears of the masses with regard to joining Ujamaa villages were noted. Organizing groups is likely to be difficult in some areas if the masses mistake these groups for a disguised organization of Ujamaa villages, or some other form of change in their previous pattern of living.

Apart from this fear, there is the fact of their passive conditioning during the colonial era, which works to undermine their self-confidence. The organization of strategic groups is meant to make the local people confident in the diagnosis of their problems, in the prescription of remedies, and in mobilizing internal and external resources. This is not an easy task in a country where for more than seventy years the masses have been subjected to passive reception of directions from colonial masters, as Chapter II revealed. Fortunately for Tanzania, the successful struggle for independence has done much in reducing people's passivity. And Chapter III noted the role of CD workers in restoring and sustaining the confidence of the masses in their change endeavours. The undertaking of self-help projects noted in that chapter can be taken as an indication of this restored confidence.

However, women, as indicated in Chapter IV, are relatively less confident in themselves. Many tribal traditions work to underrate the position of women vis-a-vis men. To the extent that such traditions exist, the organization of women into groups is going to be more difficult than, say, organizing those of youths.

Implications for Action

The problems indicated above need specific actions if organizing the masses into groups is to be successful. The fear that the masses may exhibit in the initial contact with government and TANU workers often arises from distorted information about government and TANU intentions. For example, residents may not be opposed to--or may feel neutral about--Ujamaa villages as such, but they may then be told by some people who dislike the idea, that Ujamaa villages mean 'losing your wife, your daughter, your herds of cattle, etc.', which is an exaggeration. So after gaining people's acceptance and confidence in a new area, the community workers should quickly try to counteract false and distorted information with that which is correct. Early detection of those individuals who may be deliberately confusing others is itself an important skill in working with the masses. Every effort must be made to establish why these few people oppose the proposed changes. They may be discovered to be people with vested interests who stand to lose if an innovation is introduced. Thus, discovering the existence of vested interests and winning their cooperation or neutralizing their disruptive influence is another important skill in working at the grass roots.

Organizing strategic groups may also be assisted by incorporating the United Women of Tanzania and TANU Youth League at the ward level. Chapter IV noted the advantage of this strategy. The chief weakness of these organizations at present is that they are not represented sufficiently at the ward level. But the UWT and TYL are nationally supported and they have great financial and material resources which could help formation of change-oriented groups at the local level. In fact it would be quite desirable that these organizations provide their own local-level workers to work along side government and TANU local-level workers.

Certain traditions have been noted in the foregoing as impediments to changes at the local level. This was noted as being particularly true with regard to the rural women. Close examination often reveals that traditions which prevent women from adopting new ideas are perpetuated by men. Thus men may not allow their women to join women groups or literacy classes. So even if some changes are directed to women, the workers may have first to overcome the resistance and conservatism of men before the women can avail of the new ideas.

Implications Relating to Local-Level Workers

The implications of this approach to rural mobilization on the part of local-level workers--CD workers and the various extension workers--seem to include the following:

(a) They need to be trained in participatory skills--how to form groups, how to use them to disseminate skills and knowledge, and to stimulate inter-group cooperation. CD workers who already possess at least some skills in this area are expected to lead the way. For example, an agricultural worker who feels the need for a group of young farmers may ask the CD worker to help with the campaigning, recruiting members and briefing the leaders. Such training sessions for rural workers can be arranged by district officers, notably CD officers, using funds held by the RDD for this purpose.

(b) This scheme implies also that there will be cooperation between CD workers and other rural level workers. In fact rural level workers have been cooperating since the early years of independence.

(c) Organizing local groups implies some knowledge of conducting simple surveys, for instance to discover potential leaders for groups and potential members. In fact all rural level workers are trained in doing these things. Just as in the case of training rural workers in participatory skills, seminars can be arranged for conducting such surveys. Again CD workers can lead the way, using the RDD's training funds.

(d) Cooperation with the influential leaders of the wards (WDC members, traditional leaders and so on) is essential when organizing strategic community groups. Rural level workers must be briefed on this matter during their training sessions.

District and Regional Factors

One factor preventing some RDDs, DDDs and heads of Departments to play their role well, for example providing supportive staff, funds and materials, is their unfamiliarity with the importance of people-involvement. And lack of training in participatory administration is another. There is yet a third factor. Some present-day Tanzanian regional and district heads and even national officials, still suffer from colonial hangovers. The colonial approach to development, as noted in Chapter II, was authoritarian, directive and coercive. Although post-independence Tanzania has done a great deal to 'decolonize' these authoritarian attitudes and practices, some officials still act according to the old style, that is they still apply colonial methods, although these may be somewhat disguised.

Implication for Action

The ignorance of the regional and district officials regarding the importance of local participation, their lack of skills with regard to the methods of attaining that participation, and their recurring colonial attitudes and practices, are bound to disappear with continued orientation and training. The TANU national headquarters in Dar es Salaam is already doing something about this. Thus the RDDs, DDDs and their staff officers underwent a month's orientation course at Kivukoni College in 1972 prior to their being sent to the regions and districts. This course was obviously too short to familiarize them with most of the implications of local animation. Moreover, the content of the course was mostly political.

The strengthening of the CD Division at the regional and district levels as suggested in Chapter IV, will also be helpful. The CD Division is the most experienced government department in local animation. However, without strong leadership of this department at these levels CD effectiveness in the rural areas may well wither away, with disastrous results for local involvement.

For some regional and district heads it may be necessary to demonstrate in concrete terms the utility of groups before they accept the strategy on a wider basis. For this reason, it would be desirable for some regions and districts to start groups on a pilot project basis instead of adopting the strategy wholesale right from the beginning.

At the moment the TANU Youth League and the UWT are somewhat better organized at the regional and district levels, as already noted. The linking of these organizations to the groups being created at the ward level would greatly augment local influence at the regional and district levels, as well as making them more effective national organizations, able to influence Regional policies from the national level.

More specifically, the role of the district and regional heads should now include the following:

Adequate trained departmental staff for rural work: It has already been noted in this thesis that the RDDs have authority to procure staff from the Prime Minister's Office (PMO) and they can employ others directly. In many regions this approach (the organization and use of groups) does not necessarily require employing more staff than they have. All departmental staff below regional and district level are sent to the regions for the purpose of allocating them to the wards to work with the people. But the problem is that nobody pays attention to how these officials work with the people. What this thesis has attempted to do is to point out the necessity to work with the people in a systematic manner--through groups as well as through WDCs. So the organization and working with groups is in a way a form of systematizing the rural workers' work schedule. Instead of doing their work haphazardly, (meeting one individual today, addressing a mass meeting the next day, for example), it is being advocated here that they work with interest or activity groups where their influence will have more impact. Some staff, particularly those from outside the CD Division, will need training in participatory skills, conducting surveys, and so on. The strategy of using groups will not be successful without some ability in this area.

Adequate trained Ward Development Committees: Prior to the implementation of the Decentralization Programme the districts and regions lacked funds to do the training of members of WDCs. There is now more provision for resources to be made available under Decentralization, and better use should be made of them, further training of WDC members. This training should impart knowledge about the nation's development policies and plans, skills in discussing rural needs and stress the importance of cooperating with groups in the planning and execution of plans.

Providing financial and material support: In some areas, the workers need money and materials to perform their work well. For example, they may need a Land-Rover to reach a certain place to attend a group meeting. If public transport, such as buses, is available such a problem does not arise. But where such transport is not available the regional heads must try to help rural workers with alternative means. Also, rural level workers may be in need of demonstration materials--fertilizers, insecticides, films and so on. The regional heads must provide these resources if their rural level workers are to do a good job.

Recognition of grass roots inputs: Consistent with the national policy which requires the regions to involve people actively, there is a great need for the regional heads to appreciate the efforts of their rural level workers, the inputs of WDCs and groups. If the regional heads continue to neglect their rural level workers, the WDCs and groups, the chances that the masses will adopt changes fast enough will be very dim indeed. Moreover this will be going against the national policy. It is also a waste of government funds to have rural level workers whose inputs are not taken into account.

To sum up, this outline of some of the factors which exist in the present situation, and of implications for action against some of the wider problems arising out of these factors, indicates that the proposals in Chapter IV are themselves seen as ways of addressing and meeting these wider problems. In other words, the proposals will not only help meet the problems to which they are directly addressed, that is, the improvement of communication, understanding, and community involvement at the ward level. The encouragement and mobilization of local groups such as women's groups, youth groups and literacy groups, tied in with national organizations such as the United Women of Tanzania and the TANU Youth League, will itself be a force in changing attitudes and practices among the people and officials at various levels. A realization by some regional officials of this potential, may give rise to some resistance against the proposals in some regions. The implementation of the proposals will therefore have to be at least supported, and preferably encouraged, as a matter of national policy, or they will have to be accepted and carried through by at least some RDDs as a matter of regional policy, with the hope that subsequently other RDDs will be persuaded by the success of the proposals. Part of the process of implementing the proposals should include a component of action research and evaluation aimed at further clarifying such questions as:

(a) The type and amount of financial and material support needed for mobilizing the rural masses into strategic community groups;

(b) The type and number of rural-level workers needed for the ward in any one region of Tanzania;

(c) The most relevant training content for rural-level workers that will equip them to do this kind or work;

(d) Where and how the WDCs should be trained.

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